# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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*FBIS-SOV-88-039* *29 February 1988*

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## Missile Withdrawal in GDR, CSSR Viewed

*LD261628 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—By Vadim Biryukov, TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Hranice-on-the-Morava, a little town in northern Moravia (Czechoslovakia), and Bischofswerda, a little town near Dresden in the south of the GDR, have riveted on these days world public attention: It was precisely there that a practical step on humanity's way towards a non-nuclear world has been made by the loading of Soviet missiles OTR-22 (SS-12), their launchers and the corresponding auxiliary equipment on railway platforms for the dispatch to the places of their future scrapping in the USSR's territory. The withdrawal of the Soviet missiles from the territories of the GDR and Czechoslovakia has been started even before the Soviet-American INF Treaty came into force.

"The start of withdrwal of the Soviet missiles from the GDR and Czechoslovakia is a call for international trust, and at the same time an expression of confidence by the Warsaw treaty member countries that they are on the right track leading towards real security," Geliy Batenin, a military expert of the CPSU Central Committee, told the TASS diplomatic correspondent. "The Warsaw treaty member-countries have started eliminating the nuclear missile potential which was designed to parry a possible attack by U.S. nuclear missiles deployed in Europe. Yet the Soviet side is convinced that by taking this step we thus contribute towards creating a climate of general security."

The return of the Soviet missiles into the USSR's territory is a step within the framework of the Soviet foreign policy aimed at a search for a mutually acceptable settlement of a broad range of issues. We would like to hope that this goodwill gesture will give an impetus to normalizing the international situation and the spirit of a search for mutually acceptable decisions and mutual security will be the only way to the settlement of crisis situations.

Only this approach can bring the ship of the Soviet-American dialogue into the harbour of the Moscow summit meeting and help towards signing a treaty on a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons, while preserving the ABM Treaty the way it was signed in 1972.

"We are witnessing an important international event," Geliy Batenin noted. "The withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Czechoslovakia and the GDR meets the hopes of those countries for peaceful skies over them and, as a consequence, there will be peaceful skies over other European nations."

## Withdrawal Shows 'Goodwill'

*LD251706 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 25 Feb 88*

[Text] Now Yuriy Solton considers the announcement of the Soviet Government that Soviet nuclear missiles are to be withdrawn from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia in the course of this month and March:

The withdrawal has begun on Thursday. The first to go will be the units that were sent to the GDR 4 years ago. The missiles, packed in metal containers; launchers; and the auxiliary equipment are all being returned home, along with the Soviet troops. The Soviet shorter-range nuclear missiles were deployed in the GDR and Czechslovakia by a decision of the leaders of the Warsaw treaty organization after American Pershing-2's and cruises were positioned in some West European nations. All this is now going to be scrapped in accordance with the Soviet-American treaty signed in Washington last December. Although the treaty is still to be ratified, the Soviet Union is already pulling out its missiles to places of destruction, by agreement with the GDR and Czechoslovak Governments. And as soon as the treaty was signed the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped production and testing of the SS-20 medium-range missiles-unilaterally, because the United States hasn't done this so far.

The early withdrawal of Soviet nuclear weapons from Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic is an act of goodwill showing the Soviet Union's determination to speed up real disarmament. It is also a fitting reply to all who have continued to urge the West not to trust the Soviet Union where disarmament is concerned. The situation now taking shape should help ease the treaty's ratification and relax military tension.

It would be fine if the NATO countries acted to the same end. Unfortunately, all NATO talks about is compensation. It plans to build up both the nuclear arsenals that did not fall under the treaty and conventional weapons. NATO leaders would do better if they gave more serious thought to what plans of this kind can lead to if acted on.

## U.S., NATO Reaction

*LD271548 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Viktor Shcherbakov]

[Excerpts] Great attention is being paid abroad to the early withdrawal of Soviet operational-tactical missiles from the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Politicians from many countries regard this step as a specific contribution by the Warsaw Pact countries to the cause of peace. [passage omitted]

Speaking at a briefing at the U.S. State Department, its representative, Oakley, expressed satisfaction at the start of the withdrawal of operational-tactical missiles by the Soviet Union from the GDR and Czechoslovakia. At the same time, she avoided giving an answer to the question as to whether the United States intends to withdraw its missiles from Western Europe before the treaty comes into effect. An official representative of NATO was more definite. He stated in Brussels that the countries of the North Atlantic bloc do not intend to follow the example of the USSR. [passage omitted]

## Need for Strategic Weapons Agreement Stressed

*LD280939 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 28 Feb 88*

["A Realistic and Feasible Task"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles has opened up the way to drafting an agreement on strategic offensive armaments which is now the key problem in nuclear disarmament, writes today the newspaper PRAVDA in its international review.

In the course of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington the USSR and the USA undertook the obligation to intensify their efforts to complete elaboration of the treaty on strategic offensive armaments, stipulated by the accord on compliance with the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from it within the dates to be agreed upon, the article says. This obligation underlay the Soviet-American Geneva negotiations which ensued. But not much time passed and difficulties again arose at the negotiations. The main difficulty is that the American delegation had departed from the accord reached in Washington. In any case, such was the impression, if one is to judge by the way it behaved.

The author of the review expresses the hope that now, after the Moscow negotiations of the foreign ministers of the USSR and the USA, this difficulty will become removed. The confirmation that the parties remain on the positions of the previous Washington accords is viewed by the author as an important result of the Moscow meeting. Not only the USSR but also the United States will continue to be guided by the principles on compliance with the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from it, the way they were agreed upon by the leaders of the two countries.

The public, not only the Soviet and American, but also the public in other countries, naturally want to know when the treaty on strategic offensive armaments will be ready and signed. On that question, in the official joint statement, the ministers reiterated the "briefest dates possible" formula adopted in December in Washington—"It is desirable for it to be signed during the next summit meeting in the first half of 1988".

"It should be noted that in the course of the Moscow negotiations both the Soviet and American sides showed the understanding that they face though a difficult but a realistic and feasible task. It is clear that strenuous efforts will be required to resolve this task. And not only in Geneva—mainly at the level of the foreign ministers".

The Soviet-American dialogue, which began at the summit meeting in Geneva, having passed through trials in Reykjavik, having brought the first weighty results in Washington, is bound to gain in pace, approaching the new boundary—the Moscow summit, PRAVDA writes.

## Meeting of Balkan Foreign Ministers Continues

*PM291123 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 7*

[Own correspondent V. Sharov dispatch: "All-Balkan Dialogue"]

[Text] Belgrade—As already reported, a meeting of the foreign ministers of the six states on the Balkan peninsula is being held in Belgrade. Convened on the SFRY's initiative, it has aroused great interest not only among the public in the countries of the region.

The composition of the participants has attracted attention above all. It is the first time the heads of the diplomatic departments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia have met around a single table. The history of the Balkans and of the relationships among the peoples inhabiting this region is quite complex and ambiguous. The present generations have inherited many unsolved problems. It is all the more important to point out that the six states' representatives are advancing to the fore questions of developing cooperation and are displaying a desire to set up an all-Balkan dialogue.

The meeting participants have designated the areas where cooperation on a multilateral basis is, you might say, knocking on the door. Priority is given to economic cooperation, the results of which are still modest. The idea has been expressed that cooperation in the industrial sector must play the key role in the structure of economic ties. Promising forms of contacts have been named: the conclusion of long-term trade agreements, joint industrial production in free customs zones, shipping, border trade, and so forth.

As was pointed out from the rostrum, scientific and technical cooperation on a multilateral basis would help reduce this region's laggardness in a number of decisive areas of world development. Power generation, agriculture, transportation, tourism, environmental protection, health care, culture, education, and information activity have been named among other areas of cooperation.

The speeches have expressed understanding of the common nature of the destinies of the Balkans and of all of Europe as a whole and of security in the world. The Bulgarian, Romanian, and Turkish representatives evaluated highly the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Europe as the start of the process of real nuclear disarmament.

Practically all the meeting participants have touched on questions of strengthening peace and security in the region. Thus, Albanian Foreign Minister R. Malile declared that the Albanian Government supports all constructive steps which can contribute to improving the situation in the Balkans and which serve the cause of peace, stability, and security in this region. The idea of creating a nuclear-free Balkans, the minister pointed out, is constructive and coincides with the interests of security on the Balkan peninsula and, on a broader plane, in Europe. Albania subscribes to the demands for the removal of nuclear weapons from Balkan territory.

Calls for people to rid themselves of existing prejudices in the approach to international affairs have been made from the rostrum of the Belgrade meeting. It was stated that the new political thinking, nontraditional views on the problems of peace and war, and peaceful coexistence represent the basis of a promising and fruitful dialogue.

Many interesting proposals have been made at the meeting. On behalf of the Bulgarian Government, Bulgarian Foreign Minister P. Mladenov put forward an initiative to examine the possibility of the Balkan countries implementing joint measures to remove tactical nuclear weapons where they exist in the Balkans and to adopt a pledge not to proliferate new nuclear weapons onto the territories of Balkan states, as well as chemical and other kinds of arms, foreign troops, or warships in bodies of water close to borders.

Greek Foreign Minister K. Papoulias, Romanian Foreign Minister I. Totu, and representatives of a number of other states advanced the idea of holding a Balkan summit meeting, naturally after creating all the necessary preconditions for this.

Calling the INF Treaty, Turkish Minister M. Yilmaz voiced the hope that it will be followed by other steps in the sphere of nuclear disarmament. Yugoslavia takes a positive stand on the question of turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons. This was stated by B. Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs. He submitted a proposal to hold regular meetings of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers.

Bilateral relations have been placed outside the framework of the Belgrade meeting. At the same time, political commentators and the Yugoslav press have not overlooked the signing by the Bulgarian and Turkish foreign ministers of an intergovernmental protocol which opens up new opportunities for improving relations between the two countries. The document provides for the setting up of two working groups. One will prepare a draft joint declaration on the principles of good-neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation between the two states. The other will begin elaborating specific measures to develop cooperation in the economy, trade, tourism, science, technology, transport, communications, and culture. It is pointed out that such bilateral actions strengthen the atmosphere of mutual understanding which defines the Belgrade meeting.

The meeting of foreign ministers of the states of the Balkan peninsula is continuing.

### Communique Adopted

*LD261949 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Belgrade February 26 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Anatoliy Bocharov, Viktor Kuznetsov and Vladimir Matyash:

The foreign ministers' meeting of the Balkan states has closed in Yugoslavia's capital today. It issued a joint communique outlining the main trends of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

Budimir Loncar, Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs, who chaired the meeting, said in his concluding address that the joint communique was a result of joint efforts by the governments of all the Balkan countries and accorded with the spirit of mutual understanding and all-round cooperation between the states of that region.

The communique stresses that the Belgrade forum is a substantive contribution to lessening tensions and building up in the Balkans an atmosphere of friendship and a broadening of a political dialogue, which serves towards peace and security in that region, in Europe and the world as a whole.

Proceeding from the principles of strict respect for the different political, social and economic systems of the Balkan countries, their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inviolability of the borders, equality and non-interference in the home affairs, the ministers have reached agreement on the need for making fresh efforts to ensure the development of comprehensive multilateral and bilateral cooperation between the Balkan states. They expressed conviction that progress in the development of multilateral cooperation and broadening of bilateral relations can be made only through preserving work, consistent efforts and the realistic approach by all the Balkan countries. It was also noted that an improvement of bilateral relations will leave a positive impact on strengthening cooperation between the Balkan states in broader terms.

The communique specially stresses that the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries have expressed preparedness to further strengthen peace and security in the Balkans, views were also exchanged on the question of turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons. In view of various approaches to that problem understanding has been reached on a further careful study of proposals on creating such a zone in the region.

The communique expresses preparedness of the Balkan states for a broadening of economic cooperation in such fields as trade, transport, industry, the power engineering industry, science and technology, agriculture, telecommunications, environmental protection, health protection, culture, sports and mass media. The communique points out the need for the holding of regular meetings of ministers of foreign affairs, economics, foreign trade, industry and transport in the interests of all-round development of interbalkan cooperation.

### Meeting Results 'Positive'

*LD262114 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Belgrade February 26 TASS—TASS special correspondents Yuriy Malinov and Vladimir Matyash report:

Foreign ministers of the Balkan countries positively appraised the results of the Belgrade forum noting its great importance for the improvement of the political climate on the Balkans.

In an interview to the TANJUG news agency Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Pyotr Mladenov said that an arrangement had been achieved to continue a dialogue on constructive ideas aimed at the development of multilateral cooperation among the Balkan countries. "We have thus made a very important step forward, I would even say that we have achieved a serious progress in the spirit of new political thinking and new tendencies in Europe and the world," Mladenov said. "It is most important that a constructive atmosphere reigned at the meeting. This extends the promise that our future meetings will be a success."

Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias emphasized that the Belgrade forum is an important beginning. Cooperation should be strengthened for the development of relations of the countries of the Balkan peninsula. All multilateral problems can be overcome in the atmosphere of new mutual confidence which will result from cooperation.

The results of the first meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries are of much importance for the future of the Balkan countries and also in a broader context, said Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz. The Belgrade meeting has been a success.

Romania's Foreign Minister Ioan Totu noted that a large step had been taken toward the further development of relations among the Balkan countries, as countries of a zone of mutual understanding and security. Romania will continue acting toward the establishing of a zone of peace and cooperation in the Balkans.

Albania's Foreign Minister Reiz Malile said: "We came to Belgrade with a sincere striving to consolidate peace and security on the Balkans. The problems of the Balkan countries are, certainly, not slight and not easy, but we hold that the exchange of opinions among foreign ministers might provide the basis for tackling these problems. We hope that the proposals advanced at the meeting will not remain on paper."

Yugoslavia's Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar noted that the meeting had fully confirmed the goodwill, strengthened the spirit of mutual confidence and set the directions for future cooperation. The forum evoked broad positive response, therefore the communique confirms the striving for the widening of ties in the political, economic, cultural, humanitarian and other areas which are important for comprehensive cooperation in the Balkans.

### Kashlev on Progress at Vienna CSCE Talks

*LD262128 Moscow TASS in English 2058 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Vienna February 26 TASS—The Vienna meeting has come close to the point of making important political decisions, on which the development of the situation in the European Continent will depend in a large measure, said Yuriy Kashlev, the head of the USSR delegation. The contours of agreements on key issues of security and cooperation within the framework of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation possible at this stage of East-West relations have outlined clearly enough, he said, addressing the press centre of the all-European meeting today.

Yet this perspective can be called in question, considering the extremist sentiments remaining among a part of the delegations, the unworthy approach according to the principle it is "either everything or nothing" which is being advocated. The Vienna meeting is in for the same danger, Yuriy Kashlev said, if the delegations of the Western countries seek, as before, unilateral benefits and advantages, disregard the interests and concerns of their partners in the talks. The Soviet delegation has repeatedly said that a revision is out of the question of the fundamentals of the Helsinki process, of the basic international papers on human rights, international covenants and norms of international law. Yet this is precisely what some delegations of the Western countries continue seeking.

The Soviet delegation is prepared to place on record the right of the citizens to leave any country, including their own, yet, certainly, with the reservations involved in national security, which are contained in the international covenant on human rights, Yuriy Kashlev said. Yet we are told that this is not enough, and that we should give up the reservations albeit they are envisaged by the Soviet laws.

We agree to broaden considerably the provision on religion in the final document. We are told that this is not enough and that we should give up references to the constitutional framework and national laws, albeit this is unacceptable for the society, where, according to the Constitution, the church is separated from the state and the school—from the church. This is only a part of the examples of a lack of realism, excessive appetites, when the tactics "everything or nothing" may lead to nothing.

The experience of the latest sessions is proof that given flexibility in a realistic approach, progress on involved issues is possible. Now the opportunity has appeared, the head of the Soviet delegation said, to come close to an agreement on continuing the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe. As a result of the efforts taken from different sides, prospects have manifested themselves in recent days for considerable progress on the question of contacts between people. Specific ideas that could clear the way towards reaching agreements on many other issues are now on the table of negotiations.

Yet all that now hangs poised in mid-air, as happened more than once in the past, a narrow group of Western delegations known for their ultra-extremism and reluctance, or, perhaps, inability to conduct a diplomatic dialogue, appeared on the stage. These delegations, despite the more than 13-year-old history of the Helsinki process, are unable to grasp such elementary notions as the balance of interests, concensus, a sensible compromise and many other things.

The sooner political realism triumphs, the speedier we will achieve specific results, Yuriy Kashlev noted. In conclusion he answered questions of newsmen.

### Possible Accords Noted

*LD261934 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Feb 88*

["Responsibility and Realism Are Needed"—TASS headline]

[Text] Vienna, 26 Feb (TASS)—At the all-European meeting in Vienna, a plenary session of the delegations was held, which was devoted to assessing the state of affairs regarding the preparation of a final document.

Speaking today, Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev, the head of the USSR delegation, sketched the outlines of possible agreements at the Vienna meeting that would substantially carry forward the all-European process. He said, in part:

The Vienna meeting has now reached the point at which important political decisions are to be made, decisions that will largely determine the development over the coming years of the situation on the European Continent. Essentially, the question is this: Will the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] proceed further along the road laid in Helsinki, and are our countries able to show the world an example of new thinking in their approach to problems of security, cooperation, and international trust? The necessary prerequisites for this are, in our view, at hand.

The outlines of agreements on the key issues of security and cooperation within the CSCE framework that are possible at the present state of East-West relations have by now been quite clearly defined.

Let us try to imagine how the CSCE process would develop if everything that has already more or less clearly emerged as being potentially possible were to be incorporated into the Vienna meeting's final document and then realized in practice. Regarding military-political issues and questions of security:

—The conference would resume work on measures to strengthen trust and security and on disarmament in Europe, which in particular draws up a new set of broader and more mutually complementary measures for strengthening trust and security;

—Talks would begin simultaneously on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons and on strengthening stability in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals;

—All participating states would confirm their allegiance to the well-known ten Helsinki principles, which are called upon to play an even greater role in the conditions created by easing international tension and deepening all-around, mutually beneficial cooperation;

—A special conference of experts from the 35 countries would be convened to discuss the peaceful settlement of disputes with the compulsory involvement of a third party in settling certain categories of disputes.

Within the framework of the "second basket":

—Major events, forums and conferences, are being held in the economic, scientific, and ecological spheres with the participation of representatives of the business world, academics, and governmental experts. They are examining topical problems of cooperation between our countries in these spheres, and drawing up specific recommendations for government, business, and scientific circles;

—In the wording of the final document on the "second basket", the participating states reaffirm their determination to develop mutually advantageous links, to raise them to a new level, and to eliminate artificial barriers in their way.

The human dimension of the Helsinki process is firmly established. The realm of human rights and humanitarian issues—long an irritant in relations between East and West—is being channelled into practical cooperation between the participating states. The machinery of reciprocal information, consultations, and cooperation in this field—so important for us all—is beginning to function. Within the framework of this machinery, the participating states are exchanging information on the situation surrounding human rights and in the humanitarian field as a whole within the CSCE countries. Appearances by and meetings or consultations of experts are being held to examine humanitarian incidents with a view to resolving them. Pan-European conferences on the human dimension are to be held virtually every year until the next Vienna-type meeting. At these conferences, the entire gamut of issues is to be examined, and the functioning of the new machinery in this field is to be assessed.

Work is going on in every participating state with the aim of ensuring strict conformity of national laws and administrative rules with the international obligations of a given state and with the norms of international law.

For the first time, the CSCE document records the right of every human being to leave any country, including his own, to the extent that this right is enshrined in Article 12 of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, i.e. when it causes no damage to state security, public order, or the morals of the population, or to the rights and freedoms of other citizens.

The participating states pledge to be well-disposed to the institutions and organizations in their own countries that are connected with fulfillment of the Helsinki accords and which have set as their goal the promotion of the development of the CSCE process, given, of course, that the organizations act in so doing within the constitutional framework and in accordance with the country's existing legislation.

In accordance with the final document of the Vienna meeting, the situation of communities of believers and correspondingly also that of religious cults and their establishments and organizations, is substantially improved. For the first time, participant states take upon themselves, in particular, the obligation to grant to communities of believers at their request the recognition of the status envisaged for them. (I will recall that in accordance with the Madrid accords, a state was merely obliged "to benevolently consider the applications of associations of believers" with respect to this).

Whereas before in not one of the CSCE documents was there even a mention about the right of the executive, legislative, juridical, or administrative bodies, such a right is now being established for the first time.

The possibility is being opened up for the first time to clearly record in the CSCE document the rights of appeal of detained persons, and the forbidding of torture and any other manifestations of cruelty. The Vienna accords will substantially ease the implementing of the clauses of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid final document on contacts between people.

Thus the period for considering applications to leave to go abroad for reasons of the reuniting of families, marriages between citizens of various states, and trips for family, personal, or professional reasons, is reduced from 6 months to 1 month.

Participant states take upon themselves the obligation—also for the first time in the CSCE—to undertake the necessary steps with the aim of finding, in the course of

6 months after the end of the Vienna meeting, a solution to all requests based on the clauses of the Helsinki Final Act, and in the future to hold regular reviews of all such requests.

For the first time, a 3-day period is being introduced for considering an exit request in concrete cases of urgent necessity. Questions of the term of validity of the documents required for the exit formalities are decided in the interests of the applicant.

The list of relatives covered by the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act on contacts and regular meetings based on family ties is being extended, and the possibility of members of a family traveling abroad together is consolidated.

The question of reuniting minors with their parents is solved in a practical way for the first time.

The participating states undertake to facilitate contacts between people which are effected through the use of postal, telegraph, and telephone services.

Cooperation in the sphere of information, culture, and education is expanded.

In the framework of the human dimension of the Helsinki process, a new range of major measures is being carried out for the first time. Among them are the Moscow humanitarian conference, which is geared to achieving a practical result, an information forum in London, a seminar on the cultural heritage in Krakow, and possibly certain other general European conferences and meetings aimed at making international relations more human and more humane.

In practice, if you were to succeed in reaching agreement on all the things enumerated above, they would represent a considerable step forward in comparison with Helsinki and Madrid as well as a qualitatively new stage in the development of the general European process, and, moreover, in a balanced development covering all its main areas.

The experience of just these last weeks and even days confirms that, given flexibility and a realistic approach, progress can be made on complex questions. It is no secret, in particular, that we now have a possibility of coming close to an accord regarding the continuation of the CSCE—something we regard as of the utmost importance.

The sooner political realism triumphs, the sooner we will achieve concrete results.

If we realistically assess the opportunities that already exist for taking a substantial step forward by comparison with Helsinki and Madrid, if we enshrine the concrete and very important accords mentioned above, then we will have justified the hopes placed in us and acted in the interests of our peoples.

## Dobrynin, Medvedev Attend UNESCO Meeting

*LD261453 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—"The realization of the UNESCO program 'World Decade for Cultural Development' will make a weighty contribution to the intellectual and moral solidarity of humanity," Yuriy Karlov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Union's UNESCO commission, said here today.

"This program will serve the purpose of creating powerful moral brakes that could securely prevent humanity from sliding into a nuclear abyss or into an ecological dead end," he continued.

Karlov spoke at a meeting in Moscow, which was devoted to the start of work to fulfil the UNESCO program.

Covering the years 1988 through 1997, the program has been proposed by UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization) and adopted by the U.N. General Assembly.

The Soviet National Committee for Observing the World Decade of Culture had invited representatives of social organizations, people prominent in literature and the arts, and clergymen to attend the meeting.

The members of the meeting's presidium included secretaries of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin and Vadim Medvedev.

Soviet Culture Minister Vasiliy Zakharov spoke of the ideas of the World Decade for Culture being perfectly consonant with the ideals and plans of the revolutionary perestroyka (restructuring) efforts in the Soviet Union.

The principles of humanism formed the basis of such perestroyka objectives as increasing the role of the human factor and promoting democratization and glasnost, or openness, he said.

Genrikh Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, said the path to progress lies through activating the creative forces of people and through developing and enriching their cultural potentials.

He described the World Decade of Culture as a logical followup on the ideas of the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity," which took place in Moscow a year ago.

The meeting was attended by guests of honor - cultural personalities from abroad.

British author Graham Greene said unity among the people of different countries, nationalities and religious convictions was increasingly important in the nuclear age when the risk of self-immolation of mankind was so real.

In his opinion, the most important goal of the World Decade for Culture is to improve understanding and bring nations closer together.

## 'Studio 9' Program Views Regional Conflicts

*OW270547 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0240 GMT 27 Feb 88*

["Studio 9" program presented by Professor Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, Soviet Television and Radio political observer, with Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Professor Karen Nersesovich Brutents, deputy chief of the international department of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades. We meet in "Studio 9" at Ostankino Television Center for a scheduled talk dedicated to pressing international affairs problems.

First, I wish to introduce you to today's participants in our talk: Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Professor Karen Nersesovich Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

If we speak of the factors on which the security of the world and the stability of international situation depend, then one should first mention that among these factors are the huge masses of weapons, capable of destroying all life forms on our planet many times over, and a whole series of so-called regional conflicts, any one of which could give rise to very dangerous situations at any time. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev so graphically said recently, when he compared the arms race to mankind mindlessly racing towards an abyss, and regional conflicts with festering sores on the body of mankind, which could develop into gangrene: It is hard to say which of the two is worse, although it is clear that both represent a major danger.

In recent talks in "Studio 9," we have examined the problem of the arms race and the struggle against this race in some detail. I think we would be quite correct to dedicate our talk today to the problems of regional conflicts.

"Studio 9" has received many letters on this topic. In particular, they ask us to delve into the problems of regional conflicts—especially letters from Dr Lebedenko from Poltava Oblast, student Gretsyved from Leningrad, engineer Grigoryev from Bratsk, and many other regular viewers of our program.

I wish to begin our talk today by asking you, Karen Nersesovoch, to evaluate the general situation of regional conflicts in the contemporary world.

[Brutents] Speaking generally, I would have to say that, unfortunately, all the conflicts are still in place. Not one has disappeared, but it is also true—and this is gratifying—that progress is now apparent in a number of instances where the situation was static over years—many, many years, in fact. Moreover, if we speak of the Afghan problem, then in this instance all prerequisites for a fundamental change have been provided.

I have no doubt about what triggered changes in regional conflicts. Several factors play a part. First and foremost are the general tendencies developing in the international situation: a movement towards searching for mutually acceptable compromises and detente. The Soviet-American dialogue, which is growing in depth and intensity, is playing a particularly important role. I also think that the growing realization and feeling of the logic that sees the world as an interrelated and interdependent whole is making itself felt. This in turn means that regional conflicts are now viewed as a world problem. These include the numerous catastrophes that befall the Third World, ranging from serious backwardness to fantastic indebtedness.

But I also think that there is another very serious factor to be considered: Apparently influenced by international tendencies, local, regional forces have become more active in seeking settlements. I am not merely speaking about those forces directly involved in conflict. An example that readily comes to mind is Costa Rica President Arias' initiative in connection with a Central American settlement. Or look at the efforts of Indonesia and other ASEAN countries pertaining to Southeast Asia and the Indian position as regards the Afghan problem. Now the Arab countries have become more active in supporting the idea of a Middle East conference. I do not wish to create an impression that the settlement train is racing at full speed, but I do feel that there is an improvement. This is undoubtedly the case.

[Zorin] I think that we will certainly take a closer look at this when we speak of individual conflicts. Now we will begin with, as you have already mentioned, the Afghan conflict. For us this has special significance, both because this regional conflict is situated at our borders and because, as a result of certain historic reasons, we found ourselves drawn into it—and our forces are still there. I think that it is hardly a coincidence that following a serious breakthrough in the cause of disarmament — following the signing in October of a treaty in Washington for the elimination of a whole series of nuclear weapons — the next major Soviet foreign affairs initiative was the statement by Comrade Gorbachev, which gives rise to the possibility of untying the difficult Afghan knot. Now that almost three weeks have elapsed since this statement was made, I would like to ask you,

Yuliy Mikhaylovich, whether it is possible at this stage to judge the reactions to this new Soviet initiative and to evaluate how this initiative affected the situation.

[Vorontsov] Certainly there has been a reaction, in fact, a lively reaction. By and large the reaction can be characterized as undoubtedly positive, voicing support for our decision and our position. Moreover, the support also came from circles that are not normally close to the Soviet Union. We have now had the opportunity to hold talks with a number of leaders of large countries. The complete and positive response of these countries to our proposals on the withdrawal of troops and the speedy signing of the Geneva agreements are already apparent.

However, there has been a negative reaction as well, particularly among the rebel circles that have become entrenched on Pakistani territory. They are confused, and their reaction at this stage remains harsh and consistent: We will continue with the war.

[Zorin] Yuliy Mikhaylovich, you said they are confused. Does that mean that they were not prepared for such an offer?

[Vorontsov] Absolutely not. These people have, over many years, been carrying out a struggle against their own country from the territory of a neighboring country. They have gotten so used to the idea of an armed struggle and have apparently dreamed so frequently about a victory by arms that they are now incapable of stopping. They certainly found themselves at a loss when they saw that a completely new path has now been offered.

[Brutents] In my opinion, our initiative was so courageous and creative in its essence that they were not the only ones caught unprepared.

[Vorontsov] Yes, there are several other political circles that were also caught unprepared and are now stating that finally they believe that the Soviet Union is not aspiring to reach the warm-water ports of the Indian Ocean but is ready for a courageous political solution—the withdrawal of our troops, which would most certainly be followed by tranquility returning to the country.

[Zorin] Yuriy Mikhaylovich, returning to the position adopted by the rebels: What do they propose in return?

[Vorontsov] Right now what they are really offering in return is the preparation of the seven white steeds on which the Peshawar Seven plan to ride into Kabul. Right now their imagination does not stretch further than this. They continue to drag this business toward a military confrontation and the resolution of the situation by means of some military victory, which they could not do in the past nor are likely to achieve in the future.

[Zorin] When you speak of the Seven you have in mind the seven organizations which form the so-called Alliance?

[Vorontsov] Yes, the so-called Alliance of the Seven. It is also of interest to note that no one voted these seven into leadership positions, nor did anyone appoint them representatives of the Afghan refugees about whom they display so much concern. This is a self-appointed group of seven leaders. It is these seven that are now aspiring to ride into Kabul, mounted on seven white steeds, hoping to find Kabul empty and clean as a whistle. It is a strange, primitive form of thinking. But at this stage, it survives among the rebels.

[Zorin] This complicates the situation?

[Vorontsov] Yes, it complicates the situation in that we see nothing constructive forthcoming from this Peshawar group of seven. But, on the other hand, they are not in a position to stop the process which has already started in Afghanistan.

[Zorin] Well, let us examine the U.S. position. It becomes quite clear that neither this group of seven nor any other anti-government force could have played the role they did if not for the support of the mighty forces backing them. In connection with this, I will ask you to discuss Washington's position.

[Vorontsov] Indeed, not only did the United States support them, this Alliance of Seven, but it stuffed their pockets full of money as well, and supplied them with arms. As a matter of fact, all this was done via Pakistan. But mixed sentiments have now also appeared in the United States.

[Brutents, interrupts] A division. [laughs]

[Vorontsov] Yes, a division. On the one hand, they seem to sympathize with this group of seven, with their efforts to get the white horses ready, while on the other, the Americans are above all realists. They understand that no horses will ever get into Kabul and that negotiations must be held for a political settlement in Afghanistan. The Americans understand this even more clearly than their clients.

At the same time, our firm statement that if agreements are signed in Geneva then our troops will begin moving out on 15 May made a great impression on the Americans. They are now paying more attention to this truly key and important point. But their clients in Peshawar continue to dream that they will create some sort of government of their own, made up of just these seven elements—these seven so-called, self-appointed leaders—and a certain divergence in emphasis can now be seen. The Americans see one thing and their clients something else, while Pakistan finds itself somewhere in the middle.

[Zorin] This is a somewhat personal question. A few days ago I interviewed Secretary of State Shultz. I asked him about Washington's position in connection with the coming talks in Geneva on normalization of the situation in Afghanistan, and he said that the United States will promote the success of these talks. How do you see this statement? Does it conform with Washington's position?

[Vorontsov] So far it only conforms with what they have said. Of course, we must look at concrete actions. Not so much time remains before the 2 March resumption of the Geneva talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan, with the help of the good services of the UN Secretary General's representative Cordovez. It will then become clear who in fact stands for what. But presently, judging by statements—and we would like to believe in these statements— the United States says it supports the successful conclusion of the Geneva talks and the signing of the agreements we are talking about, which were mentioned in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement. The United States also considers that a withdrawal of Soviet troops can begin on 15 May. These are simply words. We will now see what actions will be taken.

[Zorin] Another question, Yuliy Mikhaylovich: You recently carried out what I think was a very delicate mission. You visited Islamabad, where you held official talks with the Pakistani leaders—on this topic, I presume. Now, in connection with your impressions of the talks you held, I would like you to say something about Islamabad's position in this situation.

[Vorontsov] Of course, the position of Pakistan and the Pakistani leadership is important. The struggle against the Afghan Republic is being waged from Pakistani territory. The rebels' training camps are on Pakistani territory, and weapons and ammunition for these rebels are carried into Afghanistan from Pakistani territory. Therefore, Pakistan's position is very important.

For 6 years Pakistan has held talks with the Republic of Afghanistan on the Geneva agreements. Now, when the signing of these agreements has become a reality, Pakistan is somewhat confused, and the talks in Islamabad even showed me this confusion in thinking, to some extent: At what should they grasp, first and foremost? Judging by everything, the leadership in Pakistan wants a lot.

First of all, they want to see a government in Kabul that would be under Pakistan's control. They hardly conceal this. At the same time, they want the Soviet troops to leave. These ideas and wishes are somewhat contradictory. Without a doubt, the one makes the other impossible. Therefore, now they consider for some reason that they have an opportunity to achieve everything they want at once, in a single swipe. Presently this is not a realistic attitude.

President Ziaul Haq welcomed Mikhail Sergeyevich's statement and said the 8 February statement was very important and changes the situation. But at the same time, he also said that it is essential to first establish a government in Kabul, almost stating outright that this should suit Pakistan, and only Pakistan. He somehow forgot about whether this government that suits Pakistan would suit the people of Afghanistan. Suddenly, he was in a hurry to set this government up as soon as possible and asked when, in our opinion, it would be possible to sit down and establish this government.

Well, here of course we had to very delicately explain to the president of Pakistan that establishment of a government in Afghanistan was not Pakistan's job, nor Moscow's for that matter, nor Washington's. A coalition government, a government of national reconciliation and national unity in Kabul, must be established by the Afghan people themselves.

Therefore, there is no need for the Pakistani leadership to be in such a hurry to determine where it should sit in order to participate in establishing a government. It has no need to sit anywhere—it needs to stay in Islamabad. If it is a question of when a government should be established, then we have a very precise date. I reminded the president of Pakistan with pleasure that that date was 15 January of last year. At that time the government in Kabul said it was prepared to sit down with all Afghans interested in the destiny of their country and negotiate on a policy of national unity, on a government of national unity. The president of Pakistan was somewhat dismayed by such a remote date. But it was remote in the past; they missed it themselves.

So the Pakistani leaders are presently experiencing a variety of feelings. At present they are divorced from reality. Let us hope they will recognize this and adopt a correct position.

[Zorin] In connection with this, I have another question. Could the current round of talks in Geneva complicate Islamabad's position? In this regard, another broader question to you: Do you consider that the round to begin in Geneva on 2 March could become the last one to provide an opportunity for agreement?

[Vorontsov] I will begin with the end of your question. Yes, all elements presently exist for reaching agreement in Geneva, and fairly quickly. Besides, they are elements that can already—now, it can be said—suit both Pakistan and Afghanistan and help establish an atmosphere to induce active work in Afghanistan aimed at establishing a coalition government. All elements are evident. But then—I would like to respond to the beginning of your question—it is also possible to create obstacles to this kind of successful conclusion. It is possible but obviously unnecessary. But it is possible. As a matter of fact, only Pakistan can create them.

In fact, everything now depends on the leaders of Pakistan, on how they will proceed, realistically or not. But in any event, one thing is clear: Regardless of how they proceed, if there is any kind of delay with the signing of the Geneva accord and with the conclusion of the process, the responsibility will lie on them, only on them. This will be obvious to all. As a matter of fact, this is what we had to say in Islamabad. To make the positions absolutely clear, we said that if you halt the Geneva process you will be fully responsible for this, both before history and before the peoples of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

[Zorin] Karen Nersesovich, in connection with what we are discussing, I would like to ask you this question. Let us proceed from the premise that these documents will be signed in Geneva and Soviet troops leave Afghanistan. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for stability in Afghanistan after a withdrawal of Soviet troops? Internal stability?

[Brutents] This, of course, is not an easy question, but it involves one of the sore spots of this problem and one of the primary concerns. I would like to stress that generally our initiative and our entire position on the Afghan problem is oriented towards solving this problem of ensuring stability in Afghanistan. It should be noted that the problem of ensuring stability and eliminating a situation in which a withdrawal of Soviet troops would entail an outbreak of bloodshed and even chaos in the country is a task of great political and humanistic significance.

It is not coincidental that precisely in view of the need to solve this task, the withdrawal of our troops within the framework of the Geneva talks is closely linked with all other aspects of these talks, primarily with an end to outside interference.

[Vorontsov] I would continue your idea...

[Brutents] Please.

[Vorontsov] And add my own observations from my visits to Afghanistan. There is nothing automatic, there is no automatic correlation between the departure of our troops and invariable exacerbation of the situation in Afghanistan, bloodshed, or acute instability. Nothing of the sort. Everything will depend on the behavior of the various groups there.

[Brutents] That is precisely what I had in mind.

[Vorontsov] That is correct.

[Brutents] So prerequisites for this exist. The good will of the Afghan Government, the patriotic forces of Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union towards this also exists. But I repeat, this question and this task is directed towards everybody who is in a position to influence the development of events in this regard. First of all, this includes artificial delays in normalizing the situation, and then secondly a forthright attitude towards normalization if it is achieved. This, in essence, is what the response to your question entails.

[Zorin] Well, taking all that we have discussed into consideration, I would like to ask you, Yuliy Mikhaylovich, briefly, how would you appraise the chances of settling this problem in the near future?

[Vorontsov] There can be no two ways about it. The chances for settling the Afghan problem are now good. However, to transform these chances into reality, all sides must adopt a responsible attitude regarding this problem. Such a responsible attitude was displayed by the Soviet Union in our 8 February statement made by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Immediately, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan announced its concurrence and proceeded to approach this question in a responsible manner. Now, others need to demonstrate a responsible approach to this question—that is, Pakistan, the rebel leaders, and the United States. If they similarly demonstrate an equally responsible approach, then the withdrawal of Soviet troops will take place within the proposed time span and the situation in Afghanistan itself will become more or less peaceful. After an 8-year war, it must be obvious to all that tranquility is not likely to occur overnight. But, should a responsible approach be adopted, then all excesses can be reduced to the very minimum.

[Zorin] Realistic prospects for undoing the difficult Afghan knot we are speaking about also lead us to the possibility of solving other regional conflicts. I wish to quote Mikhail Sergeyevich. In his statement he said: Lurking behind the Afghan political settlement is the question of which conflict will be resolved next, for there is no doubt that there will be a next one.

In connection with this—I do not intend us to get involved in predictions—but in connection with this, I feel that we ought to touch on the lengthiest regional conflict, the one in the Middle East. I would like to ask you, Karen Nersesovich, whether there is anything new in this lengthy, acute conflict. Have any factors appeared that give rise to hope that the situation in this region may improve?

[Brutents] Indeed, this conflict has been dragging on and has now entered its fifth decade. Much has changed on this planet during this time, but sharp confrontation continues to exist in the Middle East—explosions, bombings, killings continue. Certainly, no fundamental changes have taken place. But even so, some changes have occurred, even here. One very powerful factor has come into play. I have in mind the massive demonstrations of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

[Zorin] What is now being called an uprising?

[Brutents] Yes. It is similar to a true uprising. You see, presently the world public is naturally concentrating its attention on the moral and emotional aspects of the matter—the brutality of the Israeli military driven to the point of frenzy by the fearless Palestinians. However, there is another, no less important aspect. The events under discussion render null and void the illusion that has for the past 20 years been nurtured and imposed by the leaders of Israel, the illusion of an occupation free of conflicts and troubles and which could possibly even lead to the so-called assimilation of the Palestinian lands.

The events not only demonstrated that these territories are populated by a people who have not been conquered but also by a people who have no intention of being subjugated. Moreover, the obvious display of solidarity by Israeli Arabs with the demonstrators has served as a signal for concern, a signal that has shown that the occupation has led to a very dangerous accumulation of political and national momentum in Israel itself. Thus, the constant warnings that the leaders of Israel—and I might add, those who encourage them—are carrying out short-sighted, and in a sense even suicidal policies, have come true. There is but one dependable and safe course. That is a sensible and deserving compromise with the Arabs and a start to settling the situation in the interest of creating an atmosphere of good-neighborliness in the region. Moreover, this is not a question that can be set aside forever.

Here, on this question in particular, I would say that the timepiece of history is not standing still. It has forced the Americans to move, to retreat from such a deliberately passive position on this issue.

I think the fact that the United States has practically recognized that normalization cannot be put off forever and that the search for ways to achieve peace cannot be delayed for U.S. or Israeli elections or other major or minor events, can be assessed positively. I think the fact that it has at last found an active interest in discussing the Middle East problem with us can also be welcomed. But at the same time, the ideas it proposes continue to reflect, in my opinion, old habitual reflexes. There is no understanding of the need for an equitable consideration of Arab and Israeli interests. But this kind of consideration is completely possible. This is not a utopian idea. This kind of equitable consideration is possible for the benefit of both Israel and the Arabs. Not just a ceasefire but peace is possible on this basis.

It should be particularly noted that there is no understanding of the need to consider the Palestinian problem, the lawful and national rights of the Palestinians. This is true. It is also correct, as you have said, that old knots are the most difficult to untie. At the same time, it seems to me that here, too, there is indisputably some movement. In other words, an unrealistic and one-sided position is gradually falling apart—I wanted to say it is being undermined slowly but surely, although this is probably incorrect—under the pressures of real life and events.

[Zorin] Well, that is a very interesting and important statement. But I would like to ask you a question which—please do not be offended, Karen Nersesovich—many of your colleagues try to evade or to shirk, putting it crudely. When you ask them they begin using evasive maneuvers....

[Brutents interrupts] You already have my interest.

[Zorin] Well, I want to ask you the following question: It is clear to everyone who follows the Middle East conflict that an important factor that has prolonged the conflict and made it so hard on the Arab people is that these people are divided. This is strange. There is a common enemy. Their aims in many ways coincide. Why is it that the Arabs have not been able to agree among themselves for nearly 50 years?

[Brutents] Well, generally the question is correct, I think, because this is one of the sore points of the matter. Indeed, if the Arab world, with its population of 200 million people, with its oil, money, and other resources and with its extremely important geographic position, if it spoke in a united voice and loudly, to boot, then the situation with the political and peaceful solution of the Middle East problem would be different.

But if we look at the way things actually stand, much becomes clear, it is true. The furrows of state, political, and social and economic demarcation run deeply across the Arab world. Today it includes 22 states, different political and social trends, including monarchies, republics, and military dictatorships with different interests and various priorities in domestic and foreign policies. It includes states whose mutual relations can at times be called cool, at best, for various reasons: history, claims for dominance in some part of the Arab world, and sometimes simply as a result of the relations between the leaders.

It is not inconsequential that some Arab countries feel the pinch of economic difficulties while others are relatively well off or even affluent in a sea of petrodollars. So what is the Arab world? It is a vast region, 7,000 km from the Atlantic coast to the Persian Gulf and 4,000 km from north to south, from the borders of Turkey to the source of the Nile. Some countries, such as Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon, are located at the very epicenter of the conflict. They feel its fiery heat. Others, such as the Gulf states, are primarily concerned today with the Iran-Iraq war while the third group, such as Mauritania or Sudan, are located thousands of kilometers away and are rife with internal difficulties of their own.

Add to this the class egotism of the powers that be and the ambitions of the political leaders, and what you have now is the approximate view of the Arab side of the

picture. Besides, there is one more very significant divisive factor—the politics of imperialism, its aspiration to set the Arab countries against each other, to acquire allies and clients, and finally, the struggle of the imperial states among themselves for spheres of influence in the Arab world. So this is the answer to your question. But I would not wish to end here. Because this is but a part of the picture, and if it is only a part of the picture, then it follows that the picture must be distorted.

There is also another, contradictory factor, one which is also quite objective and at times sufficiently powerful to override all divisive situations and motivations. I have in mind the existing and realistic pan-Arab and Arab national interests which can be observed in real life. These can be observed in the mood of the Arab public, in the struggle of the patriotic forces of the Arab world, and in the positions adopted by the Arab leaders. And these can be observed from time to time. Take, for instance, the decisions of the heads of Arab governments which were made in Fez, where a pan-Arab platform of settlement was worked out, even including such a painful item as relations with Israel.

Or take, for example, the decisions of the Amman conference, which called for energetic support for a Middle East conference to discuss settlement, and so forth. Certainly, one would wish that there would be more examples such as these but... I wish to repeat: This is a real factor with a great potential, and we appeal to use it to the fullest extent. These appeals for unity of action are in no way utopian.

[Zorin] Yuliy Mikhaylovich, I would like to ask you a question that comes close to this topic. The question pertains to the Iran-Iraq conflict, a conflict which is not an intra-Arab conflict since Iran is not an Arab country. But, since both sides have for many years been the target of colonial pressure and the object of imperialist policies, this war certainly weakens the Arab position and at the same time makes solving the Middle East question—although that issue is independent of the war—that much more difficult. How would you appraise the current situation and the prospects for resolving this regional conflict?

[Vorontsov] Certainly the conflict has dragged on and on. The conflict is now weighed down with insults hurled by the opposing sides. When I visited these belligerent countries, I was surprised to learn that no war exists between them. It is still regarded as a border conflict. Diplomatic relations still exist between them, and, until recently, embassies operated. The whole world regards this as a horrific bloody war, but these two countries somehow regard it as a border conflict.

[Zorin] Even though it has claimed upward of one million victims.

[Vorontsov] Yes. If they regard this as a border conflict, all the more reason for bringing it to an end. There is absolutely no reason to continue. The futility of this military conflict is already apparent to all, and I would even say that this is seen by many in Iran itself. Therefore, what is needed now is an active policy of persuasion, of persuading the two opposing sides that they can bring this conflict to an end, that they can bring the debates, resentments, and whatever else that they have stored up to the conference table. The international community is prepared to help them and to resolve these arguments and resentments. In other words, there is a possibility to settle this conflict, this great and terrifying war, on an honorable bases for both sides.

The attitudes of the belligerent sides differ. Iraq is displaying greater readiness to go to the conference table. Iran, on the other hand, is coming up with preconditions quite difficult and not always honorable for Iraq. But further work by the United Nations and the Security Council with both sides should bring results. We are absolutely convinced that there is no other way to a speedy end to this conflict other than through the system of influencing both sides through the United Nations.

[Zorin] Yuliy Mikhaylovich, I am aware that diplomats do not like to give answers to very direct questions, but I would, nevertheless, like to pose such a question. Do you consider an end to this conflict in the not too distant future possible, or is this not really very realistic?

[Vorontsov] Well, you know if there is a clearly defined aim, if a desire and a readiness on the part of many countries to help end the conflict now exists, if there are definite moves on the part of the two belligerent sides, then there is every reason for the whole world to rally, so to speak, to help end this conflict. Yes, there is such a possibility.

[Zorin] Thank you. In order to conclude our discussion of the Middle East, I would like to return for a minute to the Middle East situation. I have one more question, and then we will turn to another region. Now one of the major factors—and Karen Nersesovich has already mentioned it—that has made the Middle East conflict so protracted and difficult to solve is the policy of Washington. We are familiar with many of this policy's zigzags. Now my question is: Have there been any changes in the U.S. position of late?

[Vorontsov] Today we can only speak about a trend towards change. The position has not changed yet, although U.S. policy and diplomacy have been given a big shakeup in connection with the popular Palestinian uprising. They did not expect it, insofar as Israel has constantly assured everyone to the effect that these are simply occupied territories where everyone lives calmly, quietly, and very well—and so why not have the occupation continue for a longer period of time insofar as it is not detrimental to anyone.

Now the uprising has flared up, an uprising in the front ranks of which are youths who were practically born under conditions of Israeli occupation but who have demonstrated that they are not willing to reconcile themselves with this occupation. It was a big shock both for Washington—and by the way, I am right, Karen Nersesovich—and for the Israelis themselves, inside Israel. We can see big demonstrations being held in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem in which the Israeli population is demanding an end to this situation.

In other words, the Americans have every reason now to review their position. What they were doing before has now been completely changed. They can see that the diplomatic intrigue they pursued in recent years cannot give any results in the future, even minor ones.

[Zorin] It is most unfortunate that there are so many regional conflicts in the world that it is impossible to discuss all of them in one program. I would now like to ask you, Karen Nersesovich, to say something about one more conflict. We will leave the others to future programs. I think we cannot avoid discussing in our program today, even if briefly, the situation around Nicaragua.

[Brutents] Well, there has been some progress here, too, of a positive nature, I may say. I will begin by saying that under the influence of the general world situation and against a background of the dynamics of sentiments in Western Europe and Latin America, and in the United States itself, and finally, under conditions when the current administration has begun its last year in office, I think that prospects for direct armed U.S. aggression against Nicaragua have decreased.

Secondly, the refusal of the House of Representatives, unlike in previous years, to finance arms purchases by the contras also strengthens the positions of those, I think, including those in the United States, who support a political and peaceful normalization of the Central American situation.

Finally, as President Ortega's recent visit to Western Europe has shown, the constructive and peacemaking course of the Sandinistas is meeting increasing understanding and support. Now this in turn isolates those who wish to take the road of war and expands the prerequisites for normalization. But of course it is still too early to beat the drum, very early. The main thing is that Washington has by no means rejected its hostile and aggressive policy towards Nicaragua. All-around support of the contras continues. Judging by press reports, a frenzied search is now on for ways to finance the contras indirectly, and we know how this can be done in connection with Irangate. At the same time, Washington is doing everything in order to complicate and even to frustrate the peacemaking process begun at the initiative of Arias, as I have already mentioned.

It should be said that the Americans are active in another direction as well. They are applying pressure on the Central American states, dependent on them politically and economically, not only in order to frustrate this process. They are now pursuing a policy aimed at pushing the Contadora Group and the so-called Support Group, which include the largest Latin American states, away from the Central American solution. The plan here is very simple and obvious. The Americans wish to clear the field for themselves in order impose their line on the Central American states with no hindrances or witnesses and to wreck the peacemaking process.

Finally there is something else, I think, to consider. A certain reliance is being made on Nicaragua's economic difficulties—caused by the aggression and the economic blockade, also organized by Washington—with the calculation that this will narrow the Sandinistas' social and political base. So a persistent and complicated struggle lies ahead here.

[Zorin] I would just like to add one thing to this. There was much talk about the decline of the peace movement in the United States. Indeed, in past years, there was such a decline. However, it seems to me that the very broad and politically active opposition of a considerable part of American society to the aggression against Nicaragua is one of the most interesting circumstances in the U.S. domestic political situation. This is a real factor in U.S. political life, which is particularly important in this election year.

Many things in the United States now are focusing on the elections. The countdown to the elections has begun, and any politician, be it the politician in the White House or just one who wishes to take his place, must take these sentiments of the American people into consideration.

This mood has very deep roots. Some connect it with the Vietnam syndrome, and some say that this is something new. But I found it necessary to mention this because this will go beyond the framework of the election campaign. I am convinced of this, because a new President will come in November, but the mood of Americans will not change. I think that the new administration will have to take this mood into account.

Yuliy Mikhaylovich, I would like to ask you a question. There is an opinion among political scientists that the detente of the early seventies was, to a great extent, undermined by regional conflicts. Moscow and Washington greatly differed on the regional conflicts of the time, and this undermined detente. Now there is a trend towards positive processes in Soviet-American relations and in the international arena in general. At the same time, there are acute regional conflicts, which we have discussed. Could the history of the seventies repeat itself?

[Vorontsov] Everything will depend on the path chosen by the United States in dealing with regional conflicts, both in its thinking and attitudes. There were regional conflicts in the world before the appearance of the Soviet Union as a state, before our 70-year old history. Regional conflicts are now possible at any time, especially since they arise mostly not at the behest of some outside power. Conflicts arise on the basis of regional tensions, regional arguments, and by no means on orders from Moscow, as the Americans try to depict it. If anything hindered the detente policies of the seventies, it was the attempt, or rather not the attempt, but the vividly expressed aspiration of the United States, to turn any regional conflict arising at the time into an arena of Soviet-American confrontation.

Everything started with the events in Angola. When the Angolan people took power into their hands and conflicts between different groups occurred in the course of this intra-Angolan struggle, the United States immediately accused us, said that Moscow was behind it all. I even remember clearly the expression of Secretary of State Kissinger, who said: What are you doing there in Angola? We had to ask him: What are we doing there when we are not there? Why us? Why are these events occuring in Angola? You, the Soviet Union, will be responsible, he charged. Indeed, as a result of Kissinger's great efforts, the Angolan question arose between us, between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Attempts of this kind to turn every regional conflict, arising from whatever reasons, into an arena of confrontation between our two countries, into a Soviet-American argument, or into a Soviet-American conflict of course hinders both detente and...

[Zorin interrupts] And this can occur in the future. Because of some internal development in some region, conflicts may take place, and similar situations may arise.

[Vorontsov] The situation may arise if the United States persists in such an approach to these situations. But it should abandon this. It has already begun to understand more clearly that, for example, Moscow is not behind the Iran-Iraq conflict. It is important that there should not be any Soviet-American confrontation over future conflicts, but, on the contrary, there should be a desire on the part of the United States and ourselves —and we have such an aspiration—to apply every effort to put such a conflict out, to help stop it, to act jointly in these directions. Then we could say that there will fewer regional conflicts.

[Brutents] Of course, regional conflicts—to be more precise, attitudes toward them and the involvement of powers in them—have played their part in choking detente. However, I think there was something else. Or, rather, there was no clear understanding of the fact that mankind was confronting the problem of survival, that the arms race conceals in itself a mortal risk, and that international relations cannot be built in a spirit of confrontation, even between the two systems. In this connection, I do not want to say that we viewed our recent past only through rose-colored glasses. I would not insist that we ourselves were free from mistakes. Well, it is enough to say that we ourselves were not armed with the new political thinking.

However, it seems to me that the main thing is—I repeat, equally with the things discussed by Yuliy Mikhaylovich—that the West, primarily the United States, despite its declarations, in relations with our country has not grown accustomed to and has not accepted the principle of equal security and a balance of interests with the Soviet Union.

[Vorontsov] Yes, a consideration of interests is a very important point. Indeed, this is an element of our new thinking, and we urgently propose that the United States accept this method into its political arsenal, so to speak. Then, if one looks not only after one's own interests but realistically considers the interests of the other side or sides, this will be a good method for solving controversial questions.

[Zorin] In conclusion, I would like to ask you to answer briefly the following question: Regional conflicts are a reflection of some general processes, although each one has some individual traits. I would like to ask: Are there or can there be any general principles for solving regional conflicts now, or does every one of these conflicts every time need new efforts, new plans, and new solutions?

[Brutents] Well, you said it yourself: Each conflict has its peculiarities and its specific traits. It is impossible to find solutions if we try to avoid them. But I think we can and should talk about some general principles. Primarily, there is respect for the right of all peoples involved in a conflict—as well as the right of all people in general—to resolve their own fate themselves in a sovereign way. This principle was reiterated by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the recent February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. He called it the strict and basic principle of our approach.

Secondly, there is a mutual consideration, mutual coordination, and mutual balance of interests of all powers involved in, or having some lawful relation to, a conflict. Such a balance is possible. As experience shows, it is applicable to the most complicated and most intricate conflicts, even those with a historical background.

Thirdly, one should not put each conflict into the framework of mutual relations—I do not even speak about confrontation, because we wish to banish this spirit of confrontation from relations with the capitalist world as well. This should not be forced into the framework of these mutual relations, these confrontations.

There is another very important point related to all this. A cover of international prestige can give protection from militant groups and demagogues who are always in abundance on both sides of the barricade, whenever these conflicts are discussed.

I do not know if it is permissible for me to say this, since political prophesy is not a safe thing and is likely to rebound on anyone trying to engage in it, but I feel that in this instance it is all right to do so, and I will take the risk: I think that one of the characteristic traits of the late eighties will be a change toward solving regional conflicts in different parts of the world.

[Zorin] Well, I think that it is appropriate to conclude our broadcast on this optimistic note. It remains for me to thank the participants in the program and to thank you, comrade television viewers, for your attention. Thank you. Until the next meeting here in our Studio 9, thank you.

## United States & Canada

### Foreign Ministry Protests VOA Broadcasts

*LD291534 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—The Soviet Foreign Ministry today declared a strong protest to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow over the dramatically increased subversive thrust of the U.S. government-run radio service Voice of America's broadcasts to the Soviet Union lately.

Among other things, these broadcasts have been crudely distorting historical facts, making provocative insinuations about the growth of nationalist sentiment in the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union and expressing U.S. support for forces that do not accept the social system in this country.

The broadcasts can only be described as flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of these republics and the Soviet Union and as hostile action aiming to undermine the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and its national-state arrangement.

They have been obviously at odds with the spirit of understandings reached in December 1987 in Washington during a Soviet-U.S. summit there and directed at putting right and steadily improving relations between the two countries.

The contents of the broadcasts have aroused the profound indignation of the Letts, Lithuanians, Estonians and all other Soviet people. This has been vividly demonstrated by their speeches at protest rallies and statements in the press. Special resentment has been caused in the Soviet Union by the V.O.A.'s blatant attempts, in particular in its broadcasts on February 22 and February 23, to present the policies of perestroyka, glasnost and democratization pursued in the USSR in a bad light.

Expressing the wishes of voters and their demands for an end to the undisguised provocations, the Supreme Soviets of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have adopted statements of protest over the gross U.S. meddling in the internal affairs of the sovereign republics, which is a serious breach of the U.N. Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and norms of international law.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry, protesting strongly over these V.O.A. broadcasts, noted that such broadcasts contradict the goal of preventing confrontation and facilitating more stable relations between the USSR and the U.S.

The United States, where the rights of national minorities are flouted so arrogantly and where racism and discrimination of the indigenous population are rampant, is in no position to teach democracy and harmonious relations between nationalities to other nations.

### National Security Council Discusses Panama

*LD271541 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Washington February 27 TASS—A sitting of the U.S. National Security Council chaired by President Reagan was held in the White House Friday, the CBS television company has reported with reference to informed sources.

According to a CBS correspondent in the White House, President Reagan and his senior advisers discussed the situation in Panama and analyzed possible U.S. actions, including an armed invasion and the imposing of sanctions or a trade embargo. The correspondent reported that all those versions had been turned down. He quoted one of the officials as saying that the only thing the U.S. could do was to wait.

However, CBS pointed out that President Reagan and his aides had made it clear that they had been full of resolve to increase pressure on General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defense Forces of Panama, insisting on his retirement.

### Reagan Cancels Weekend Visit Over Panama

*LD270705 Moscow TASS in English 0700 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Washington February 27 TASS—On Friday President Reagan cancelled his usual weekend trip to the Camp David residence in a Washington suburb. The need for Reagan's return for a White House concert in the afternoon on Sunday was given as a formal explanation of the cancellation. However, local analysts directly link the cancellation with the political situation in Panama whose legislative assembly voted for the removal of President Del Valle from his office.

Replying to journalists' questions at the White House on Friday, the U.S. President said that the USA did not consider a chance of a military interference in Panama.

Speaking at a meeting with voters in South Carolina, U.S. Vice President George Bush said that the USA would do everything necessary to protect U.S. interests in Panama. He added that he would preserve the right to do everything necessary, including the use of military force, to protect America's sacred interests in the region.

### Reagan 'Attacks' Nicaragua in Radio Address

*LD281017 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Washington February 28 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

In his radio address on February 27 President Reagan again made attacks on sovereign Nicaragua. The head of the Washington administration asserted that Nicaragua allegedly "threatens" neighbouring Central American

countries. The President said he was disappointed with the outcome of the early February vote at the House of Representatives, which declined the administration's request of granting a multi-million dollar aid to the contras gangs. According to the terms of a compromise reached between the administration and the Congress late last year, following the decline by the House of Representatives of the administration's contras aid request, the senators were no longer able to change this decision. The vote at the Senate, which declared for further aid to be granted to the contras, was purely symbolic. But Ronald Reagan did not conceal his satisfaction with its results. "The Senate agreed with me that we cannot leave those fighting for freedom in Nicaragua", he said in his radio address.

What the President implied to say is absolutely clear: The administration intends to make stake on support for the contras gangs, the tool in Washington's hands in waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua.

The President made his radio address on the eve of the regular debates in the Congress on the contras aid question. The matter is that the House Democratic majority leaders promised to draw up their own plan of aid to contras and thus had the administration's initial request declined, by drawing to their side a number of hesitating congressmen. A few days ago it became known that the Democrats drew up a plan of about 30 million dollar "humanitarian" aid to contras. The Republicans responded with their own "alternative" plan of 36.2 million dollar aid to Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries. In his radio address the President said "We must have a policy everywhere in the world based on realism and strength", and this declaration has the aim to create an appropriate atmosphere on the eve of the next discussion of the contras aid question.

### Uses 'Trite Propaganda Cliches'

*LD272136 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Washington February 27 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

President Reagan has come up with another radio address in which he again attacked Nicaragua. Using trite propaganda cliches, the head of the Washington administration asserted that Nicaragua 'threatened' neighbouring Central American countries. The President said that he was disappointed over the outcome of the voting in the House of Representatives early in February as a result of which the request of the administration to again grant the contras gangs financial assistance running into millions of dollars had been turned down.

According to local observers, President Reagan's words made it clear that the administration intended to further count on the contras gangs which Washington uses as its proxy in the undeclared war against Nicaragua.

## Reagan Interview in POST Reported

### On START, SDI, Summit

*LD262058 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Washington February 26 TASS—President of the United States Ronald Reagan gave an interview to the newspaper WASHINGTON POST. He touched upon various aspects of the administration's policy. When asked about prospects for the signing of a treaty on a 50-per cent reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals, the head of the White House said: "That would be nice, if it could happen, but I have to tell you that common sense indicates that the time is too limited for us to really think that we could bring a treaty ready for signature to that meeting... This one is so much more complicated with regard to verification and everything else than the INF Treaty, which we were able to bring together."

"We are not at this moment anticipating that it would be ready for signature" at the meeting in Moscow, Reagan added. He said, however, that "if there is sincerity on both sides with regard to getting such an agreement—and I think there is—I think that could be done" before the time of the current U.S. Administration expires in January 1989.

In connection with the coming summit, the following question was put to the President: "You'll be meeting with Mr Gorbachev for the fourth time, the most contact between a U.S. and Soviet leader since the World War Two period. Do you think he really is a different kind of leader?"

"Yes, I do," the head of the U.S. Administration said.

The question of Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative" at the militarisation of outer space through creating a system of anti-missile defense with space-basing elements was posed during the interview. This problem assumes special importance in the light of prospects for working out an agreement on strategic offensive arms, since, as many U.S. experts hold, the SDI is the chief obstacle on the road to the signing of new agreements on arms control. But THE WASHINGTON POST stresses that Reagan has not shown flexibility on the SDI question. He repeated his previous statement that this problem cannot be viewed as a bargaining chip.

Reagan also admitted that, in the opinion of the Soviet Union, the implementation of the SDI would give the United States the potential for a first strike. "If they had now an almost foolproof defense against our nuclear missiles at the same time they've got their nuclear missiles, they would have the ability for a first strike," Reagan said. "They could hit us and, when we fired back, we couldn't hit them. They see the same thing for us. If we get SDI... and we still have these missiles that we have, they see a first strike capability. Now the difference

is, and it's almost impossible to convince them, we don't have any intention of a first strike... There is no one in America who wants to go to war with Russians."

Answering the question about the situation in Afghanistan, the President said that he thought there was reason to believe that the Soviet Union really wanted to withdraw troops from Afghanistan.

### On New Arms Treaty

*LD261322 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Washington February 26 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan gave an interview to the newspaper "WASHINGTON POST" in which he touched on various aspects of his administration's policy, including the issues of Soviet-U.S. relations and prospects for working out an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments.

"...Common sense indicates that the time is too limited for us to really think that we could bring a treaty ready for signature" to the new Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, Reagan said. This agreement "is so much more complicated with regard to verification and everything else than the INF Treaty, which we were able to bring together".

"I believe with the amount of time that would still be remaining that, if there is sincerity on both sides with regard to getting such an agreement—and I think there is—I think that could be done...before my time expired...", Reagan went on.

During the interview the issue was raised on the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative designed to militarize space through creating an anti-missile defence system with space-based elements. This problem assumes particular importance in the light of the prospects for elaborating an agreement on strategic offensive armaments, since SDI is the key hurdle to the signing of new arms control treaties. The "WASHINGTON POST" stresses, however, that Reagan did not display flexibility on the SDI issue and repeated his previous statement that this programme cannot be viewed as a "bargaining chip".

Reagan also made an attempt to evade responsibility for the unrestrained growth of the federal budget deficit which in the years of the current administration's stay in office snowballed from 79 billion dollars in 1981 to 150 billion by the end of the last fiscal year. The soaring deficit was brought about, first and foremost, by the rates of boosting military spending, the highest in the U.S. peace-time history, which were set by the Reagan administration.

### Foreign Ministry's 'Surprise' at Reagan Comments

*LD272227 Moscow TASS in English 2225 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Today's PRAVDA carries a report which says:

A PRAVDA correspondent has requested the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to comment on the interview given by U.S. President Ronald Reagan to THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper dated February 26, in which he questioned the possibility of the elaboration of a draft treaty on reducing by 50 percent the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States to get it ready for signature during the President's visit to the USSR (at the end of May-early in June this year).

In response to the request, it was stated in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs that such a pronouncement by the President gives rise to natural surprise. "It is well-known that the joint Soviet-U.S. statement at summit level dated December 10, 1987, had it that the elaboration of such a treaty and of all relevant documents should be completed as soon as possible so that it could be ready for signature during next meeting of the leaders of the two countries".

"The intent to implement the accords reached in Washington as soon as possible was characteristic of the recent conversations and talks in Moscow during the stay of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz".

"We would not like to get into details in the search for causes of such kind of statement which did not reflect the striving which, as we see it, is mutual for intensification of the work on the treaty".

"As far as the Soviet side is concerned, it comes out in favour of preparing a treaty on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive arms for signature by the meeting of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States in Moscow with simultaneous agreement to observe the ABM Treaty. Our delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva has the necessary instructions on that score. Draft documents have been tabled, and the negotiators have fruitful experience in working together. So, provided there is goodwill, it is quite possible to complete the work in Geneva before the forthcoming summit meeting".

### 'Contradictory' Reagan Worldnet Speech

*PM290907 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 7*

[Gennadiy Vasilyev article under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "New Times and Old Cliches"]

[Text] Preparation is under way in Western capitals for the upcoming meeting of NATO countries' heads of state and government in Brussels. This is an extraordinary, not a routine meeting, in my opinion, since the basic set

of issues which is to be discussed by the leaders of West European countries, the United States, and Canada, as reported in the press, is the bloc's military-political course after the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles within the framework of a dramatic improvement in Soviet-American relations.

When speaking about the complexities of interstate relations, Americans love to say that you need two to tango. It is only natural that Soviet people are also awaiting with interest the decision of the leaders of the military-political bloc that opposes us and want to know what our negotiating partners' response will be to the whole range of constructive intitiatives put forward by the Warsaw Pact. And, of course, many people are interested to know what stance the NATO and U.S. leader will adopt at the conference.

U.S. President Reagan has broadcast on Worldnet, the U.S. television news network, on the eve of the Brussels meeting. His speech was devoted to the basic range of questions: The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the prospects for Soviet-American relations and East-West relations. The President on the whole described in positive terms the signed treaty and the direction in which U.S.-USSR relations have recently been developing. Let us note that the head of the U.S. state and administration presented the accord achieved to the NATO leadership as a positive decision deserving support.

But Reagan then went on to "reassure" those in the West who, in his words, "are not completely satisfied with the treaty" and are concerned at the Soviet Union's "superiority" in conventional and chemical arms. Such "reassurance" is most likely to cause legitimate concern in sensible people interested in the successful development of the present positive trends in the world. The White House incumbent scared his listeners with the possibility of a "surprise attack" on West Europe by Warsaw Pact troops. He said that in conducting negotiations with the Soviet Union the United States will be seeking the implementation of the SDI program and repeated the canard that the Soviets have allegedly spent 200 billion dollars on creating a strategic defense in recent decades.

Why did he need to resort to "arguments" of a "position of strength" policy and to frighten people with absurd fabrications created in ultrarightist centers? Perhaps in order to satisfy those very same extreme rightwingers who reproach the Washington administration with making "too many concessions to the Reds"? Or perhaps it is the influence of his speech-writers' addiction to phraseology that is clearly out of phase with the present day?

And you feel quite embarrassed for the American President when you read the sections of his speech devoted to ideological questions. They have such a musty smell! Just take his argument that "in fact the policy known as 'glasnost' coexists today with the reality of political oppression in the Soviet Union." And the evidence? Merely that the Soviet people are following a different path from the American one, that the West "is dealing with a political system, a political culture, and a political history formed over many decades." After leveling the usual array of human rights charges against the Soviet Union, Reagan came out with the following: "Talks between East and West do not imply the equality of our two systems or way of life from the moral standpoint."

Very true! We also think that the two socioeconomic systems differ, but we are convinced that our way of life, which places man's interests to the forefront, is superior and more humane from the moral standpoint than a system based on the pursuit of profit. But that—namely, the difference between the two systems—is no impediment to the development of constructive relations between us and the finding of sensible solutions that are in the interests of all mankind.

President Reagan's contradictory speech shows how difficult it is for the West's political figures to come to terms with the realities and how the weight of the past and concessions to outmoded stereotypes and attempts to preserve the image of the Soviet Union as the "implacable enemy" tell. All this, of course, does nothing to help progress toward a secure, nuclear-free world.

## U.S. Carries Out Test Launch of Trident Missile

*LD272139 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Washington February 27 TASS—The United States has carried out yet another test-firing of a submarine-launched intercontinental ballistic missile.

The WTOP radio station reported today that a Trident-1 missile fitted out with a dummy warhead was test-fired from the nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarine Stonewall Jackson. The submarine cruised in submerged position in the Atlantic Ocean 50 miles east of the coast of Florida.

The WTOP report had it that two previous attempts at test firing the missile from board the missile-carrying submarine had ended in failure.

## Reagan Comments on Near East at Press Briefing

*PM261145 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[Own Correspondent A. Blinov report under the rubric "Following Events": "Illusion of Progress"]

[Text] Washington—Last Wednesday U.S. Secretary of State Shultz flew to the Near East.

At a White House press conference on the same day, President Reagan was asked about the situation in the Near East and about the U.S. reaction to the Israeli soldiers' brutality against civilians in the occupied territories.

The first question was: Why do you not condemn the treatment of the population of the occupied territories—the shooting of unarmed demonstrators, the massacre of children, and the attempts to bury people alive?

We do not support such things, the President stated, although he then accused the Palestinians of "rioting."

The Palestinians' opposition to the occupation, the President asserted, is organized externally. He did not give concrete evidence even though journalists asked him to do so. Nor did he say anything about the fact that the opposition to the occupation is fair and morally justified. Whereas their armed suppression represents terror and brutality. [sentence as published] "Both sides are committing violence," was the President's opinion.

Is it not time to recognize the need for an end to the occupation and the establishment of peace? We have some influence on Israel, don't we? Reagan was asked.

Secretary of State Shultz is going to the Near East for the purpose of elucidating whether it is possible to achieve real and practical progress on the path toward a bilateral solution.

A reluctance to recognize the obvious—namely, the unlawful nature of Israel's occupation of the Arab territories—is the background to the visit to the Near East by the U.S. diplomatic leader. "Skepticism—that is what Shultz is taking on his visit to the Near East," a WASHINGTON POST article says. Shultz, the newspaper reports, is taking with him a plan consisting of updated versions of old ideas. It is based on the well-known Camp David process—the proposal on granting autonomy to the occupied territories while preserving Israeli rule over them.

The Camp David process, the article says, appeals to U.S. diplomacy because it suits Israel which, as usual, stubbornly opposes the convening of an international conference on the Near East, despite the fact that President Mubarak of Egypt and King Husayn of Jordan stated recently that this process can no longer be the basis for talks. The newspaper reports that Shultz intends to stand the whole talks process on its head by opening informal talks which disregard the question of convening a conference.

"Many analysts, including a number of U.S. officials, acknowledge that it may thus be possible to create only the illusion of progress, but nothing more than that," the newspaper concludes.

## Shultz Middle East Tour Assessed

*LD282143 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Boris Andrianov Commentary]

[Text] As reported by AP, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz continues a tour of the Middle East. He chose Israel as his temporary residence. From there, the U.S. foreign policy chief paid short visits to Jordan, Syria, and Egypt yesterday and today. Tomorrow he is off to Amman again. Here is a commentary from the latest news bulletin. At the microphone is Boris Andrianov.

[Andrianov] Based on reports from the Middle East, the shuttle diplomacy of George Shultz is not bringing any real results. All the return trips of the secretary of state have misfired. These trips do not make it possible to weave the fabric of political accords on the basis which was with obvious pretense billed as a new U.S. initiative on the Middle East by Washington.

What is wrong with it? After all, when setting out, Shultz told the accompanying journalists that he would propose a package of measures aimed at bringing about talks on a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East without delay. All that was promised in words. But what did those promises come to in practice? In actual fact, the secretary of state had brought old initiatives of the Reagan administration with him in the guise of new baggage. Criticizing their essence, the Syrian daily AL-THAWRAH pointed out that no Arab country could accept what is offered now by Washington because Shultz' proposals amount to a modified Camp David. The latter is permeated with the intent to set up separatist deals as a result of bilateral talks between Israel and individual Arab countries.

As is known, that process, initiated a few years ago by Washington, has not led to solving Middle Eastern problems and for that reason has been rejected by the Arab states. In the meantime, the turn of events in the Arab territories seized by Israel has led to an uprising of the Palestinian people against the occupiers. It has been going on for 11 weeks already, and Tel Aviv is incapable of suppressing mass actions by the local population, even by resorting to the most brutal terror on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

In order to solve the problem which exists here, as French President Mitterand believes, it is necessary to settle the political reasons for the crisis. But is it not clear that the main reason is that those primordial Arab territories were occupied by Israel more than 20 years ago? For if it is, this should be the issue above all else.

But Washington would not even listen to such a formulation of the question. It sees the role of the United States in the Middle East through Israeli glasses, and is far from offending its strategic ally in the Middle East with as much as a hint. That is why, as shown by facts, the

Reagan administration is far from intending to alter its negative attitude toward the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East with participation of all parties to the conflict, including the PLO as well as the permanent members of the UN Security Council, which first took shape long ago.

I believe that Shultz' shuttle diplomacy is designed to create not the fabric of political accords, but to weave a camouflage net for that position of Washington.

**Shultz Moscow Talks Called 'Landmark'**
*LD261726 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] The Political Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has approved the results of the talks between Soviet leaders and the United States Secretary of State George Shultz during his visit to Moscow. A comment from our Political Observer Viktor Glazunov and this is what he writes:

I would assess the results of the Moscow talks as a landmark in preparing the new Soviet-American summit meeting. It is clear that the summit will be held and it is essential that it should bring results, quite definite results at that. Primarily another disarmament treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic armaments which make up the bulk of nuclear arsenals.

It is common knowledge that the work to draft the treaty at the Soviet-American Geneva talks were slowing down and faced difficulties. That was due to the American attempts to depart from the accords reached at the Washington summit. But it was agreed at that summit that a treaty should be drafted on reducing in half the strategic armaments by complying strictly with the treaty on limiting anti-ballistic missile defense in the shape that it was signed in in 1972. The United States delegation in Geneva tried to upset that condition exactly.

During the latest visit by the United States secretary of state to Moscow, the Washington accords were reinforced. That means the artificial brake on ways to draft a new disarmament treaty has been removed and that there are new opportunities now without losing any more time to get ahead along the schedule mapped out at the Washington summit towards real disarmament.

The more so that during the Moscow talks the Soviet side advanced further initiatives to stimulate the search for mutually acceptable solutions of disarmament problems.

In short, the Moscow talks have added optimism about prospects for disarmament. This optimism is further increased, I think, by the starting withdrawal of Soviet shorter-range missiles from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. I may remind you that the missiles were deployed there in retaliation to the stationing of American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

The Washington treaty on scrapping the two classes of missiles covering those pulled out from the GDR and Czechoslovakia is yet to be ratified and go into force. But the USSR is already displaying goodwill and the readiness to act on its commitments under the Inf Treaty even ahead of time.

This is a further argument in favor of early ratification of the treaty. This creates a favorable atmosphere also for advancing towards the new treaty affecting the strategic armaments.

The Political Bureau of the Soviet Community Party believes the new treaty would become a milestone towards really cutting nuclear arms and promoting security for all nations.

**Shishlin on Tasks Remaining Before Reagan Visit**
*LD282020 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Now that most countries have said what they think about the recent visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, a fairly full picture of the way in which international political circles assessed this event can be drawn up. It must be said that there is quite a large measure of unanimity when it comes to positive assessments of the visit. The substance of the conversations between the secretary of state and Comrades Gorbachev and Ryzhkov, and his talks with Comrade Shevardnadze were reported in a detailed and balanced way at a press conference by the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state.

We know that the visit by the high-ranking representative from Washington took place to prepare for and reach agreement on questions that will be on the agenda at the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit A great deal was done on that level but there are some things still to be resolved. What problems still remain? Let me direct that question to Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer.

[Shishlin] They do not concern the agenda for the talks. The agenda for the talks is well-known. There is the problem of formulating a treaty on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons while preserving the conditions of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and other aspects of the disarmament process. There is the problem of overcoming regional conflicts by political means. There is the question of human rights, and finally bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations.

I want to repeat that it is not a question of the agenda, but of what will occur during the forthcoming visit to Moscow by U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Of course there are still some things that are unclear on that.

As for formulating a treaty on strategic offensive weapons, or to be more precise on a 50 percent reduction in this class of weapons, then by no means has all the ground been covered in Geneva, and I think the ideas expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich, when he said that the lion's share of the work to formulate this accord should belong to the appropriate leaders of foreign policy departments in the Soviet Union and the United States, were extremely timely.

But the picture is more definite when it comes to other opportunities for advancing the disarmament process. It clearly looks as if things are nonetheless heading toward the formulation of a mandate to reduce conventional weapons in Europe over a vast area stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. In my view, talks that will make it possible to ratify the well-known agreements on nuclear tests dating from 1974 to 1976 are not progressing badly. There are also certain possibilities of reaching a new level of work on a convention banning chemical weapons. One way or another, I think that this point on the Soviet-U.S. political agenda will probably be developed weightily in Moscow.

Discussion of regional problems may prove equally productive because of late there have been certain new departures. These are linked not only with the widespread actions being undertaken by the Soviet Union in the interests of a political settlement to the Afghan problem, but are also connected with the fact that the more things progress, the more acutely it is recognized that there is a need for a broad approach in general to overcoming regional conflicts as such. This is because no matter where this conflict occurs, no matter where it arose, in the final analysis when a house burns down it does not really make any difference where the fire started. What does matter is taking timely precautions against fire.

I think that the understanding of this is not yet a mutual one, but it is beginning to appear in the political positions of Washington as well. In any case, we can say the meeting is expected to be a rich one, although I would repeat that in the 3 months ahead there is simply a colossal amount of work to do. But the goal is worthwhile, for the next Soviet-U.S. summit does indeed create a unique opportunity to guarantee a radical turning point in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

## Activities at Geneva Reflect Shultz Visit

*LD261745 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Geneva February 26 TASS—At Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva over the past week meetings have been held within the framework of the groups on strategic offensive arms and on space.

They examined ways of effectively fulfilling the tasks set to the delegations as a result of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's talks in Moscow earlier this month and aiming to lend greater dynamism to the negotiations and intensify the delegations' efforts to complete within the planned time a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms in the context of compliance with and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty.

## 'Top Priority' Program on Soviet-U.S. Relations

*LD271844 Moscow in English to North America 00001 27 Feb 88*

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Professor Radomir Boganov and Professor Sergey Plekhanov—live or recorded]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] Hello, Ladies and Gentlemen. I'm Pavel Kuznetsov your host on "Top Priority", and together with me our usual panelists Professors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov.

And the topic for today is naturally the outcome of the Soviet-American talks in Moscow between the Soviet leaders and Secretary of State George Shultz.

Well, I think we should be pleased with the results. I sat out there watching the news conference held by George Shultz and he appeared to be calm and at times relaxed and displaying his usual sense of humor, and by the way, a sense of humor is a quality that we here on this program, gentlemen, either don't possess or do not display for some...

[Plekhanov interrupts] Sometimes we do.

[Bogdanov] Sometimes we do but we have not many opportunities for that. I'm sorry. [laughter]

[Kuznetsov] Professor Bogdanov, Professor Bogdanov, do you have a joke to tell us?

[Bogdanov] No, I have no joke. It's too serious a matter we are going to discuss. I have no jokes on that.

[Kuznetsov] Ok. Let's go back to the Shultz visit, and I think that another important thing is that the, I mean Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz told journalists that they are to follow this one. What else is important, or perhaps you'll elaborate on those critical path issues, as George Shultz called them? What else is important about the outcome of the talks? Who'd like to begin? Professor Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] Let me make a very short comment, which is to my mind very important. One, if we talk about the whole setup of the Soviet-American relations because realistic enough whatever successes we have with George Shultz, with this administration...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] So you're saying it was a success?

[Bogdanov continues] ...and fortunately it was, it was a success. It was a success! The measure of the success is another problem [laughs] but it was a success and I do not dare to measure it at this juncture. But what I mean to say is that, OK, it's a success but unfortunately or whatever you call, this administration is going to its end, its natural end and in next January we will have to face the next administration in the White House. And we have a basic problem, not only we but I believe the American listeners at the other end. What will be Soviet-American relations with the next administration? And if you keep in mind that next month we will have another meeting of two heads of the foreign offices in Washington, that another meeting will take place, I dare to say that we have to deal with the new, if you like, a qualitatively new (?bulk) of the Soviet-American relations. What I mean by that?

Usually we had only one problem: disarmament, arms control talks. But what is happening now? You have a number of other very important problems in the Soviet-American relations being settled, or being about to be settled. What I mean by that? You have such a very big and important problem as humanitarian or human rights and you have unbelievable success, progress in the Soviet-American relations on that.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, there will be a meeting on 18th March of a joint committee of Soviet and American experts and jurists and lawyers and so on.

[Bogdanov] Yes, yes you have some other agreements, Soviet-American agreements, very important. The whole base of the Soviet-American relations with all that becomes more solid, more predictable. And I mean to say about that that the next administration will have to deal not only with one segment of the Soviet-American relations, maybe—not maybe, but the most important—but with the whole set of settled or about-to-be settled issues. That's what I mean to say that the Soviet-American relations are getting on very solid, on very solid tracks. That is my very...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] Professor Bogdanov, I agree with you except for one thing. When you said that this administration is approaching its natural end [laughs] I would like to wish good health to all those who are about to leave office. That's what you meant?

[Bogdanov continues] Well, I believe in the simplification of our relations. If you'll excuse me [laughs] maybe I used the wrong words.

[Kuznetsov] Maybe that's the joke!

[Bogdanov] Yeah, yeah, but...

[Kuznetsov interrupts] Alright. Professor Bogdanov, er, Plekhanov, excuse me. What are those critical path issues, as they were described by Secretary Shultz? And my other question to you is, although the rhetoric has been radically toned down during the 2 days of talks, there is no specific date yet for President Reagan's visit to Moscow, and I think that naming the date will depend on the progress in Geneva—and not only in Geneva—on strategic arms cuts, but also on the success or failure of the United Nations-sponsored talks between Kabul and Islamabad. Do you share..?

[Plekhanov interrupts] Yes, yes I think it would be premature now to talk about this precise date. In fact, they narrowed down the time frame to something like 2 or 3 weeks from late May to the middle of June, or something like that. So, we already are talking about a certain timeframe and Shevardnadze said at his press conference that he can guarantee that the summit will take place. So the question is what specific items will be solved during the summit?

[Kuznetsov] And now perhaps could you enumerate those critical path issues that we began with, to give our listeners an idea of the scope of Soviet-American arms control efforts?

[Plekhanov] Yeah, I think that the Shultz-Shevardnadze meeting was very significant even, in that both sides are agreed on the set of instruments to produce agreements on a number of issues, which is very, very important. You see, the differences between the two sides are of course very great and a lot of work is necessary, but when you have a joint set of instruments, and a joint plan of working out agreements, that's a very hopeful sign. As to the critical path issues which you referred to, they refer preimarily to the arms reduction, the area of strategic arms reduction. And those issues are, there are five or six of them: number one is the issue of preserving the ABM Treaty and agreeing on the terms of nonabrogation of that treaty for a certain number of years. The precise date, again, has not been set, but I understand on the basis of what was said by the two foreign ministers that there is agreement that such a date should be set. So they are working on that. Then there's the issue of verification which is radically more complex in connection with this agreement because we are dealing with disparities in the structure of strategic forces. So they're working on that, concentrating their efforts in that area. Then there are two issues relating to cruise missiles: the sea-launched cruise missiles and air-launched cruise missiles. Very, very tangled issues. And then there's the issue of what specific structure of forces is to remain after the strategic forces of the two sides are cut by half.

[Kuznetsov] I think you all recall that on one of our previous programs, either it was one of you or was it Vladimir Pozner who compared Eduard Shevardnaeze and George Shultz with two firemen who are regularly sent in when something goes wrong in Geneva or some other place. In other words, having agreed at the Washington summit that their meetings at this ministerial level should be regular, we kind of created a superstructure that stands towering above the traditional lower

echelon mechanism, composed of experts and negotiators. It's understandable those experts and negotiators, being very skilled and knowledgeable people, cannot cut through the thicket of technical detail and simply go ahead with the authority to decide on the vital issues sometimes.

My question to you, Professor Bogdanov. Now, what happens when a new administration comes in? There will be a new secretary of state. Won't this superstructure suffer a setback because this new man? I mean on the American side, will have to start actually from scratch, getting to know Eduard Shevardnadze. Aren't we putting too much in the hands of these two capable people?

[Bogdanov] My dear Pavel, in your one question you have at least several questions. No 1: Which administration will be in the White House, Democratic or Republic? No 2 question is who will be secretary of state? That's very important, I mean in the personal sense. So if I knew answers to those two questions I would be very happy to give to you, to Sergey, and to our American listeners very precise and clear cut answer. But I believe that we have to give in that case with what I call commonsense. We have very good experience when political leaders take into their own hands the most sensitive, most delicate, and most complex issues. And we have our experience and American experience. When you leave that to the technical level, technocratic level if you like, you are doomed to failure.

You have endless discussions; you have impasses all the time until you pick it up by the politicians and you take a decision. Now, my question is: If you have that kind of experience which proves to be very efficient, why the next American secretary of state or next administration should not follow the same example? And my belief is based on another thing: We have nowadays such dynamical Soviet-American relations, which to my mind will be enhanced not diminished. They you will have to deal in that way. Secretary General Gorbachev mentioned in his talks to Secretary Shultz that's exactly that point, that we have such important problems to deal with and we have such a short time to deal with that we cannot leave that to experts [word indistinct]. Political figures, he said, have to tackle that and have to take decisions.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you, Professor Bogdanov, and let's change the subject slightly and turn to an issue that's closely intertwined with the overall set of Soviet-American relations, and I mean the INF Treaty. We all remember that back in 1981 when President Reagan offered us his zero-option, which basically boiled down to a pledge not to deploy Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in exchange for the destruction of Soviet INF. This offer was presented, was made, on behalf of the United States and the Western alliance in general. Now we are being told that after the Soviets accepted and a little bit expanded this zero-option to Asia, now that we have the INF Treaty, the NATO alliance is falling apart, or is about to fall apart. And I recall that at that time of the zero-option proposal, Henry Kissinger greeted this offer because he believed that it would make Western Europe better off by strengthening its security, its unity, and so on and so forth. But now we see Henry Kissinger in the forefront of the efforts to unite Western Europe, as he puts it, in its nuclear and conventional defenses against the Soviet Union. Professor Plekhanov, what has happened to Henry Kissinger and people like him?

[Plekhanov] Well, they grow older with time like all of us do, but...

[Bogdanov interrupts] That's exactly the answer to your question. [laughter]

Kuznetsov] Yeah, everybody, well, we also grow older with time.

[Bogdanov] We are getting older, I'm sorry Sergey.

[Plekhanov] Right, but some people simply can't keep track of the changes that are taking place. I believe that both alliances, both the NATO and the Warsaw treaty alliance are anachronistic, increasingly. They are the structures inherited from the cold war and sooner or later we'll have to face the necessity of dismantling them.

[Kuznetsov] But he was one of the architects of detente at some time (?or another), relaxation of tensions...

[Plekhanov interrupts] Well, detente. You (?call)...

[Kuznetsov continues] You (?call) him as anti-Soviet. I mean, I don't see the logic.

[Plekhanov] Well, he's always been anti-Soviet I think....

[Kuznetsov interrupts] Well, I understand he's not a pro-Soviet, I think.

[Plekhanov] Right!

[Kuznetsov] He was for relaxation.

[Plekhanov] He was for relaxation in the early seventies because that fitted in the global game plan that Kissinger and Nixon worked out at the time. Now there's a different game plan and the most important thing is Henry Kissinger is not part of it, he, you know, having spent so much time at the pinnacle of power, having been treated around the world as the architect of the new world order. It's very difficult for him to live with a far more modest role in the political life and he keeps coming up with ideas which he thinks are grandiose but which impress....

[Kuznetsov interrupts] And I also think that he has made his political fortunes dealing with a Soviet Union which was very different from what it is now, and is going to be much more different from what we ourselves would like

it to (?seem) in the near future, our country I mean. So he's clasping at the old stereotypes about the Soviet Union and he cannot change them.

[Plekhanov] But it's not so much the personal problem of Kissinger. The fact is, that the INF was put in Europe not in order to respond to the SS-20 challenge, not in order to compensate for the Soviet increase of those missiles. It's now clear that that was not the main mission. The main mission was to install first strike weapons close to the Soviet border in order to have a new lever, if you will, to pressure the Soviet Union politically. To have a new intimidating capacity against the Soviet Union. And now that the bluff has been called and the justification for the replacement of those missiles has been removed, there's a new situation. NATO cannot but go along, and it is to the credit of the U.S. Administration that it was able to look at the situation in a new way. And many Western European politicians, like Helmut Kohl for instance, are displaying great realism in the face of the new situation. Yes, there are changes within NATO and there are changes within the Warsaw treaty, and they will have...

[Bogdanov interrupts] Some very, very short comment. I always had a respect for Harvard Professor Henry Kissinger. I had respect for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. But I'm sorry to say now you have a very interesting phenomena in the American political life. You have a group of past, former, whatever you call them statesmen headed by Kissinger and people alike who are fighting against their own heritage, I'm sorry to say. And in that sense, to my mind, Sergey is right putting it that way, that people do not like to feel to be aside, to be sidetracked, that's what I would (?like), a very short comment.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you for your comments, and as time is running out and as I would like to ask you whether you agree or not with what I'm going to say, and I think that the Shultz visit came on the heels of a very important Communist Party Central Committee meeting on perestroyka and it heard two reports by Yegor Ligachev on the reforms in our system of secondary and higher education, and the second report by Mikhail Gorbachev on perestroyka, the fate of socialism, and also on the coming 19th party conference later this year. I mean the two events, the visit and the party meeting, were not made to coincide, they just happened so that the (?coincidence)—they came so closely apart [as heard]. But in every coincidence, in my view, there is a hidden message and in this particular case this hidden message is this: If we fail to pull through with our reforms, economic and social, we are likely to undo a lot from what has been achieved in foreign policy in general, and Soviet-American relations in particular. Do you agree with..?

[Bogdanov interrupts] My short answer is I do agree one thousand times with you and I put it like that. If we fail with perestroyka, we fail with a new political thinking, and that means with the new foreign policy.

[Plekhanov] That's right, because the two things are two halves of the same whole. The new policy at home means new policy abroad and then vice versa.

[Kuznetsov] (?They are) not only on behalf of the Soviet Union, but perhaps on the (?American)...

[Plekhanov] Not only on behalf of the Soviets, the same applies to any nation, including the United States.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you, Gentlemen, our time is up. I would like to thank everybody who was tuned to our program, "Top Priority". I'm Pavel Kuznetsov signing off till next week at the same time and on the same wavelength. Goodbye.

## Press Club Cites U.S. Figures on Relations

*PM261450 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 88 p 15*

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA "Press Club" feature: "Let America Speak"]

[Text] This time the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA press club session took place not in the editorial offices, but at the International Trade Center in Moscow. Here a conference was held, organized by the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations and the American Council of Young Political Leaders.

Our press club guests could be said to represent all shades of the American political spectrum—from centrists to the frankly conservative. Democrats: Brandt Ayers, publisher of THE ANNISTON STAR newspaper; Steny Hoyer and Thomas Sawyer, congressmen from Maryland and Ohio; Republicans: Donald Sundquist, congressman from Tennessee; Bruce Weinrod, leader of the international department of the Heritage Foundation; and Willian Schneider, who recently resigned as under secretary of state for security assistance, science, and technology.

The press club session was conducted by our correspondent Boris Notkin, a participant in the meeting.

B. Notkin: What, in your opinion, has changed in the Americans' attitude to the Soviet Union since the December summit meeting in Washington?

T. Sawyer: The perception of the Soviet leadership has certainly changed in the United States.

S. Hoyer: This was promoted by the fact that throughout the meeting with R. Reagan, Americans saw that M.S. Gorbachev is a man with whom, as M. Thatcher put it, you can do business. Moreover, the visit intensified the feeling that glasnost and restructuring involve real changes. Americans do not know precisely what is behind those terms or how far the processes they herald may go. But they have a feeling that these processes could help to improve our relations.

As a result not only has there been an increase, in the United States, in the general level of interest in everything happening in the Soviet Union, but the foreboding of the inevitability of a confrontation with it has lessened. I do not only mean military confrontation, but ideological confrontation too.

W. Schneider: On the whole, events abroad are not of paramount interest to the broad strata of the American population, who do not, historically, associate their personal prosperity with such events. That is why M.S. Gorbachev's visit made a greater impression on those circles which keenly follow international processes. As for the broad masses of Americans, I do not think there has been a permanent or profound change in their attitude to the USSR.

D. Sundquist: You could not radically change, in one summit meeting, the Americans' perception of the Soviet Union that has grown up over the decades.

B. Weinrod: I suppose the majority of Americans are now adopting a wait-and-see position. They will form their final opinions after the summit meeting in Moscow. Public opinion polls show that many Americans support the treaty that was signed on the elimination of two classes of missiles.

B. Notkin: The ultraconservatives have stepped up their activity in the United States recently. They have launched a counterattack on the results of the summit talks, on the improvement in relations with the USSR. How do you assess their influence and strength?

T. Sawyer: Although conservatives remain an influential intellectual and political force in the United States, they should not be regarded as a monolithic group. There are dogmatists who will not see that the realities are changing. Nonetheless, many conservatives have shown themselves to be pragmatists, which was expressed most vividly in their support for the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

S. Hoyer: Indeed, a small proportion of Americans think any agreement with the USSR will only undermine U.S. security. But that is a minority, whose views are not shared by the leadership of either the Democratic or the Republican Party.

W. Schneider: The number of categorical opponents to all agreements with the USSR has never amounted to more than 15-20 percent in our country. But their weight automatically increases taking into account who objects and against which specific aspects of the accords.

B. Weinrod: We conservatives are watching attentively what is happening in the USSR, and we are waiting for reliable results. We will wait however long it takes—6 months or 6 years—to convince us that changes which we regard as substantial have indeed taken place in the USSR and are of a long-term nature.

B. Ayers: The conservative tide is now receding in the United States. Conservatism as a political movement is surrendering its positions in the resolution of both local American problems and international problems, especially those concerning the USSR.

The decline of conservatism has been prompted, in particular, by the fact that the USSR's behavior cannot now be interpreted as threatening. There are also other internal factors operating in the same direction.

B. Notkin: How do you assess the prospects of Senate ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles?

B. Weinrod: I do not exclude the possibility of prohibitive amendments to the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, because their adoption requires the support of a simple majority in the Senate. Changing the treaty is easier than is usually thought. The probability of such an outcome is not excluded even by supporters of the treaty.

W. Schneider: You probably remember the accusation of violations by the USSR of the ABM Treaty, SALT II, and certain others. If the senators think that the verification measures provided for in the new treaty are inadequate, that could mean going back to the negotiating table.

The Senate could also adopt amendments providing for certain compensatory measures in the form of, for instance, the creation of new arms systems.

There were precedents, for instance, in 1963, when the Senate insisted on the intensification of underground tests when it ratified the treaty banning nuclear explosions in the three environments. The time factor is also very important. Three months is a long time. In that time things could happen, for instance, in the Persian Gulf region, which could influence the atmosphere of the Senate hearings.

T. Sawyer: I am more or less confident that the treaty will be ratified. Who could vote against? Only an extremely insignificant number of the most conservative senators. I am convinced that the vast majority of American voters firmly support the treaty.

The question is rather what kind of amendments there will be—insignificant, or basically prohibitive? I hope that by means of persistent, keen attention to its passage, the President will be able to neutralize the sources of potentially serious amendments.

S. Hoyer: I think the treaty will be ratified without amendments that will kill it.

B. Ayers: It is almost impossible to imagine the conservatives torpedoing a treaty signed by a conservative president. I have been present at conferences to which

former secretaries of state and defense secretaries have been invited. Even those who formerly had doubts about certain aspects of the treaty stated that they are abandoning their former objections.

D. Sundquist: I am sure the treaty will be ratified without devaluing amendments, although not quickly. The Senate is a very strange body in the way it makes decisions: Even a single senator could delay its passage for a very long time.

B. Notkin: In the Western press you often find calls for talks on a 50-percent cut in strategic arms to be linked to the results of the Vienna talks on conventional arms reduction, which could delay the signing of a new treaty for an unacceptable period. What, in your view, are the chances of the success of an agreement on strategic arms reduction?

D. Sundquist: To be honest, I will not be dismayed if the treaty is not finally agreed upon in time for R. Reagan's visit to Moscow. It is better not to hurry over such a complex matter. I have become convinced during my stay in the USSR that the Soviet people want arms reductions. The Americans want the same thing. But we should not be upset if it happens later than we all hope.

S. Hoyer: This is the last year of R. Reagan's Presidency, and he is better placed than anyone to persuade public opinion and the Senate to accept it, since he has a solid reputation as a hard-liner. A more liberal president could have more difficulty with the ratification of the treaty.

Technical problems certainly still remain as regards limits and sublimits, and also the elaboration of even more reliable verification measures than for intermediate-range missiles. But I know that in Geneva Max Kampelman, leader of our delegation, has received instructions to prepare a document by late May or early June, that is, by the time of R. Reagan's trip to Moscow.

The drafting of this agreement will be influenced by the course of the Senate discussion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, that is to say, all criticisms of it will automatically be carried over to the next treaty too.

T. Sawyer: Although the destruction of two classes of missiles is an impressive fact in itself, it is important to recognize that this was possible thanks to the fact that we have worked out a new vocabulary. We have achieved a common understanding of the terms by means of which calculations and measurements can be made and have reached a consensus with regard to a system of coordinates.

An innovation of fundamental importance is the signing of the protocols on verification and monitoring. True, it is far easier to monitor the total absence of missiles of some kind than their precise numbers. Therefore the vocabulary formulated during the talks on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles must be perfected. That is a very realistic goal.

B. Notkin: Neither during the official discussions nor in private conversations has any member of the American delegation said anything constructive, anything concrete about the possibility of joint U.S.-Soviet guarantees of the resolution of the Afghan problem. Nobody mentioned the documents agreed upon in Geneva, which envisage that American aid to the armed groupings will cease 60 days after the signing of accords on the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The exception, paradoxically enough, was the representative of the acknowledged headquarters of the conservatives, the Heritage Foundation. Although he too admits that there may not be a single supporter in the United States for the plan he put forward...

B. Weinrod: There was a precedent, when the USSR withdrew its troops from a country where they were—Austria. That country became a neutral state whose people themselves determine their socioeconomic institutions. The mechanism of the Austrian treaty could be applied to solving Afghanistan's problems.

There are also major disagreements over the issue of the relationship of the schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops to the curtailment of American aid to Najibullah's opponents. I believe the United States should insist on an end to combat operations by antigovernment forces only at the stage where the withdrawal of Soviet troops is almost complete.

D. Sundquist: I will not speak about specific proposals, because I am not in the habit of assuming the functions of secretary of state. In general terms, I see the best formula for resolving the Afghan question in the context of a general bilateral agreement on the elimination of regional conflicts.

T. Sawyer: Common sense tells me that success lies in pooling our efforts. We should not allow a vacuum to form in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. That is the most dangerous situation that could be left there. Long-term stability in the country could best be achieved through joint efforts by the USSR and the United States.

B. Notkin: Voices are heard in the American press warning against a sympathetic attitude toward the restructuring, since it will make the USSR a more threatening rival. They also remind us of the actual relations between our countries. Nonetheless nearly all the Americans I have spoken with have sincerley expressed best wishes for the restructuring. How do you explain that?

B. Ayers: You see, although we will remain rivals, relations between states can be likened to interpersonal relations: It is always easier and more pleasant to deal with a healthy and prosperous person. The behavior of such a rival can be predicted far more reliably, you do not expect surprises from him.

T. Sawyer: The restructuring has begun to capture the imagination of the entire West. It is extremely interesting to observe how you will scale such heights. I personally am worried not that some people will "not understand " the restructuring, but that people expect too rapid results from it, although the results could realistically appear no sooner than in 3-5 years. Therefore, it is important both for you and for us to have a realistic idea of the limits that any people can achieve in practice.

The week of joint work at the International Trade Center and the frankness and openness with which the Soviet participants approached fundamental questions of the restructuring have already yielded tangible results. We all have different experience of meetings with Soviet representatives in the past, and each of us has noted the profound change in the nature, tone, and content of our present discussions. If this quality persists at every level of Soviet-U.S. contacts in future, our children will have more hope of happiness.

### Dobrynin Meets U.S. Foundation Member

*LD262112 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, today met with prominent U.S. public figure Susan Eisenhower, a member of the Board of Directors of the international foundation "For the Survival and Development of Humanity".

The meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, covered some issues of Soviet-American relations and the participation of the public of the two countries in their further development.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Yazov Receives Vietnam Defense Minister

*BK271537 Hanoi VNA in English 1515 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Hanoi, VNA Feb 27—A delegation of the Vietnam People's Army led by General Le Duc Anh, Politburo member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and defence minister, visited the Soviet Union from February 21-24 on the occasion of the celebration of the 70th Soviet Army and Navy Day. The delegation paid floral tributes at the Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. It was received by General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defence minister, and was presented by him souvenir badges marking "The 70 Years of the Soviet Armed Forces." The Vietnamese guests attended a meeting held at the Kremlin Palace and a banquet hosted by the Soviet defence minister in honour of the anniversary. They also called at the Central Museum of Soviet Armed Forces.

### Law of Sea Convention Talks Held With Malaysia

*LD262123 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—Soviet-Malaysian consultations were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry on February 25 and 26 on the situation regarding the U.N. Law of the Sea Convention, including the principal problems pertaining to the activities of the preparatory commission for an international seabed authority, as well as on issues related to the treaty on the Antarctic.

The consultations were held in keeping with a Soviet-Malaysian protocol on consultations signed during Malaysian Prime Minister Mohamed Mahathir's official visit to this country in July 1987.

The Malaysian delegation led by Ambassador Majid Mohamed Abdul was received by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev.

The consultations passed in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

### Briefs

#### Cooperation Accord With SRV

An accord on cooperation between party, soviet, trade union, and youth organizations and labor collectives of the Vietnamese and Soviet capitals has been signed in Hanoi. This document is seen as another important step toward developing fraternal links and cooperation between the residents of Moscow and Hanoi. It envisages not only the traditional exchange of party worker delegations, but also specific measures aimed at establishing direct links and developing other progressive forms of mutually beneficial cooperation. As early as this year, hundreds of Vietnamese young people will come to Moscow, where they are to master professions and work in Moscow enterprises. Within the framework of cooperation in the area of light industry, direct links will be established between related enterprises. Shirts, dresses, or shoes manufactured by way of coordination of production between working people of the two capitals will appear in Moscow shops. [Excerpts] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 28 Feb 88 LD*]

## Near East & South Asia

### Afghan, Pakistan Leaders View Geneva Talks

#### Najibullah on Peace Efforts

*LD291345 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Kabul February 29 TASS—The statements by the Afghan and Soviet leaders of February 8 this year have outlined ways towards a settlement of the situation

around Afghanistan, said President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan, addressing a ceremony on the occasion of the recent death of Pushtun leader 'Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

President Najibullah expressed perplexity at Pakistan's current stand. He said that until recently the main point of its demands was for the unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Now that after the statements by the leaders of Afghanistan and the USSR the question of the withdrawal has been ultimately resolved, new demands are put forward, according to which before the return home of the limited contingent of the Soviet troops, a so-called "transitional government" shall be formed in Afghanistan. Meanwhile both documents say most explicitly that the return home of the Soviet troops is in no way linked with the completion of the efforts for forming a coalition government in Afghanistan. Today, Najibullah stressed, I would like to stress again that the creation of a coalition government is the prerogative of the people of Afghanistan alone.

Najibullah went on to say that they in Pakistan are trying to disregard the current government in Afghanistan, which has at its disposal almost half a million people among the armed forces and is based on the economic and financial system of the state, the power which respectfully treats religion and traditions of the people, under which a constitution was endorsed and the president was elected, which was recognized by 80 states of the world. Such a stand that does not reckon with the objective conditions is doomed to a defeat.

The Geneva talks, the Afghan leader continued, concern only the foreign aspects of the situation around Afghanistan. After their settlement the resolution of domestic problems will be a simpler matter. Now Islamabad does not wish to sign an agreement with its permanent partner in the talks—the legitimate Government of Afghanistan, but declares that it will sign it with representatives of some "third" or "transitional" government. The sole real way to peace and prosperity in our country, Najibullah said, is a multi-party system, the equality of all political groups. Despite the counter-action and the plans artificially put up by the opposite side we hope that common sense will prevail.

A settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, Najibullah stressed, would give a powerful impetus to a peaceful resolution of the outstanding regional and international problems. It is necessary that all should begin to feel their responsibility to history and make a worthy contribution to that settlement, the Afghan leader noted.

### Zia Asks Parliamentary Discussion

*LD291340 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Islamabad February 29 TASS—Pakistani President Ziaul Haq Sunday night called an extraordinary parliamentary meeting to discuss whether Pakistan at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, which have been conducted with U.N. mediation, should sign an agreement for settling the Afghan problem on the basis of proposals made by the Government of Afghanistan.

A report to the MP's was made by Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo. The parliamentarians were told that the Pakistani Government had not yet taken the final decision to sign such an agreement. That decision would depend on the resuts of debates in parliament and on the prime minister's consultations with the leaders of the political opposition.

According to local press reports, most of the MP's who spoke in the debates called for signing the Geneva agreement.

They also suggested doing that without stressing the issue of a transitional government of Afghanistan as a precondition.

The Pakistani delegation today left for Geneva to take part in another round of the talks, which opens on March 2.

## Afghan Foreign Minister Wakil Departs for Geneva

### Interviewed Before Departure

*PM291143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Interview with Afghan Foreign Minister 'A. Wakil by own correspondent V. Okulov in Kabul: "For Peace. Interview With Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil"; date not given]

[Text] Kabul, February [dateline as published]—[Okulov] The next round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks with the UN secretary general's personal representative as mediator begins on 2 March. What are your plans and your feelings as you depart for Geneva?

[Wakil] To put it briefly, I am going in a good, businesslike mood. I think that the requisite conditions have been created to make this round of talks a fruitful, final one.

On what do I base my optimism? The positions of Afghanistan and the USSR in the matter of a political settlement concerning our country have been set out with the utmost clarity in the statements by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and President Najibullah which were broadcast throughout the world on 8 February. As is known, the elaboration of documents covering all aspects of a settlement was nearly completed at the Geneva talks. It remained only to establish, on the basis of the political decision taken earlier by agreement between the Soviet and Afghan leaderships, a timeframe for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan which will be acceptable

to everyone. This was done in the Soviet and Afghan leaders' statement which, naturally, link the withdrawal of forces to the prevention of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

The Soviet and Afghan leaders clearly defined the two processes—the solution of the external aspects of the Afghan problem and an intra-Afghan settlement, which is a matter for the Afghans themselves, no matter what camp they belong to.

[Okulov] But it looks like Pakistan has planned and is implementing a move away from the path of a political settlement before the end of the talks.

[Wakil] Recent statements coming out of Islamabad contain new demands which have never been advanced before at the talks, and, if they had been, we would not have taken them seriously. Indeed, is it possible to spend 5 and 1/2 years working together with the Afghan side on an agreement on noninterference in one another's internal affairs and, having at last reached agreement, on the eve of the signing, put forward "proposals" on the replacement of the government of a sovereign country—a partner in negotiations? That is, grossly interfere in its internal affairs? It is nonsensical, to put it mildly. It is clear that only we Afghans have the right to decide our own destiny, choose the form of state organization that is acceptable to us, and set up a coalition government.

The pronouncements by the leaders of the Pakistani administration betray their intention to avoid signing the accords on a political settlement of the Afghan situation and, therefore, are threatening to undermine the Geneva process. This would result in unforeseeable consequences.

As for the Afghan people, they are sick and tired of the long years of fratricide and are awaiting the Geneva accords with hope. The solution of the external aspects of the Afghan problem, guaranteed noninterference from outside, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops would create favorable conditions for an intra-Afghan settlement on the basis of national reconciliation and the setting up of a coalition government.

[Okulov] What can you say in connection with the position of the opposing side—the opposition groupings operating out of Peshawar which are called the "alliance of the seven"?

[Wakil] The Afghan Government has opened wide the door to a compromise with the "Peshawar seven" and is offering the opponents of the legitimate regime more than 20 important state posts—including the positions of vice president and deputy prime minister. But their reaction, as before, is not exactly realistic. In their blind lust for total power, the "Peshawarans," who are riddled with internal contradictions, have been displaying frantic activity in an effort to knock together a "government."

The question is: Whom will it represent? On whose behalf will it act? The legitimate government of Afghanistan, invested with constitutional authority and possessing real power in the country, is recognized by more than 80 states.

In my view, the leaders of the opposition in Peshawar simply will not see that the process of the birth of a coalition government, which is being set up step by step in Afghanistan, concerns not only the emigre ringleaders. Authoritative figures from previous regimes are essentially involved in it—they are already active in the present government. Also there are the commanders of "second echelon" armed opposition groups—those operating on the country's territory. And, of course, refugees returning to the country. It is time the "Peshawarans" moderated their ambitions and stopped struggling for sole power by rejecting pluralism. This will bring our people nothing but continued suffering.

[Okulov] What are Afghanistan's foreign policy priorities in connection with its government's course of attaining national peace?

[Wakil] The fundamental idea behind our foreign policy is as follows: Afghanistan has been, is, and will continue to be an independent, nonaligned, neutral country and an active participant in the nonaligned movement. We are seeking to deepen comprehensive ties with the USSR, our neighbor and old friend of many years, and also with other friendly countries. Special attention is paid to establishing good-neighborly relations with Pakistan and Iran. We are seeking to expand our links in every way with the Islamic states and nonaligned countries and to establish normal relations with Western countries, including the United States, on the basis of mutual respect and observance of international norms. We hope that the policy of national reconciliation, settlement of the problems concerning Afghanistan, and cessation of the fratricide in our land will contribute to this.

### Meets Shevardnadze en Route

*LD291601 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, met today with Abdul Wakil, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, who stopped over in Moscow on the way to Geneva for the Afghan-Pakistani talks.

During the conversation, the ministers discussed in detail the questions connected with the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan in the context of the statements of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah of February 8,

1988. It was noted that these documents had evoked broad positive response of most foreign politicians and statesmen, of the international public as the documents that form a real basis for an early constructive solution to the Afghan problem.

The sides emphasized the untenability of the stand of those forces who try to disrupt the Geneva process and wish to make the signing of the Geneva agreement on an end to outside interference and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan a sort of hostage to such an internal Afghan matter as a creation of a coalition government.

The sides emphasized the firmness of the Soviet Union's and Afghanistan's intentions to finally formalize and sign the Geneva agreements at the March round so as to embark on practical steps for the solution of the Afghan conflict.

Abdul Wakil informed Eduard Shevardnadze in detail of the implementation of the course at the achievement of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, of the efforts of the Afghan side to settle external aspects to the Afghan problem, spoke about his recent visits to Syria, Libya, Kuwait and Jordan.

Eduard Shevardnadze dwelt on the steps of the Soviet side toward the implementation of the line agreed upon with the Afghan leadership, specifically steps at the talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz held the other day in Moscow, on trips of Mikhail Gorbachev's special representatives to a number of Asian and African countries. Eduard Shevardnadze confirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to act jointly with the USA as guarantors of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

Some other international matters were touched upon during the conversation.

The meeting passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

## Commentary on Pakistan's Position on Peace Talks

### Obstructionists' 'Grave Responsibility'

*PM290947 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Article signed "Developing Countries Department" under the rubric "Topical Theme" under the general heading "Crucial Moment"]

[Text] Today it is difficult to find a country where the Afghan theme is not being discussed in the press and in speeches by state, political, and public figures. The peace-loving joint initiative set out in the statements by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Afghan President Najibullah has placed this theme at the center of universal attention. The world public reaction to the establishment of a timetable acceptable by all for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan on the whole reveals that this constructive approach meets with the approval and support of all who are really interested in a political settlement in Afghanistan and the improvement of the international atmosphere.

The planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is dictated by the pressing necessity to take steps to eliminate one of the world's trouble spots. For us Soviet people, for understandable reasons, it is the worst trouble spot.

In recent years, direct and indirect participants in the Afghan conflict who support the opposition have made numerous statements about being committed to the idea of a political settlement in Afghanistan, but the undeclared war has continued and even intensified. Until recently the Afghan opposition, and also the leaders of Pakistan, the NATO countries, and other states lending assistance and support to it, stated that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was the stumbling block to resolving the Afghanistan problem. Today when this "obstacle" is being removed, some of them are beginning to look for all kinds of excuses with the aim of preventing the problem from being resolved.

Going back on accords which have already been reached at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, the Pakistani leaders, for example, are making the signing of agreements subject to the formation of a so-called transitional government in Afghanistan, and the opposition comprising seven groupings based in Peshawar a few days ago announced the creation of such a government consisting of 28 members. It includes 14 members from this group of seven, seven Afghan refugees, and seven "Muslims cooperating with the Kabul regime." As for the U.S. Administration, although positively assessing M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan, it nonetheless still refuses to answer the question of when Washington will cease giving assistance to the Afghan opposition, a question which is important for a settlement.

It is not difficult to understand where the winds are blowing from. Peace and national reconciliation in Afghanistan does not suit certain Western patrons of the Afghan opposition who are ready to fight "to the last Afghan" so long as economic, political, and moral damage is inflicted on the Soviet Union. Certain circles in Pakistan, which on this pretext have talked their way into getting more and more new types of arms from the United States, are evidently also interested in continuing the conflict. Finally, the extreme wing of the Afghan opposition, which is laying claim to undivided power, effectively opposes agreements, not wishing to take Afghan realities into consideration.

The Afghan people themselves will decide the question of who will govern them and what path they will follow. The Soviet Union, as M.S. Gorbachev's statement says, will be glad to have a peaceful, independent, nonaligned, and neutral Afghanistan as its neighbor.

The development of the situation in Afghanistan is entering a crucial, critical period. The path to a settlement has been laid, and those who obstruct it will be assuming a grave responsibility in the eyes of the world community and history.

### Pakistani Opposition Cited

*PM291154 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[A. Ostalskiy "Rejoinder": "Attention: It Is Islamabad's Move"]

[Text] In putting forward new "preliminary conditions," can Islamabad really be trying to wreck the accord?

Clearly there are highly influential forces in that country which seek to prevent a settlement of the Afghan problem.

But there are also other forces which believe that Pakistan has a historic opportunity to play its part in the settlement, and it is important now not to miss that opportunity. This view is held by the leaders of many of the country's political parties, who call on the government to sign the Geneva agreement. Among them are Tehrik-i Istiqlal, the People's National Party, the Pakistan People's Party, the Pakistan Democratic and Socialist Party, and women's, students', and public organizations.

H. Minto, general secretary of the Socialist Party, appealed to the Pakistani people to "raise their voice in favor of a speedy settlement of the Afghan question, before it is too late." In a press statement, the Pakhtun-Khwa National Awami Party stresses that "the Afghan problem is political in nature and should be resolved by political means on the basis of the Soviet Union's proposals." "The entire responsibility for failure at the Geneva talks will rest with the Pakistani Government," this document says.

Former Foreign Minister Agha Shahi stated that Islamabad "must fulfill its commitments and sign the Geneva agreement." "The questions of the withdrawal of troops and the creation of a transitional government cannot be linked," he said.

Will the Pakistan government heed the opinion of their own country's public?

### Intention To 'Block' Talks

*LD271615 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Commentary by Boris Andrianov, from the "International Diary" program presented by Viktor Shcherbakov]

[Text] BAKHTAR, the Afghan news agency, has transmitted an interview with Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil in connection with his recent visit to Kuwait, Libya, Syria, and Jordan. This trip, the Afghan minister pointed out, was the beginning of a new stage in expanding and strengthening Afghanistan's foreign political contacts. It testifies to a growth in that country's reputation in the Muslim world as a whole and among the Arab states in particular. I will ask our commentator Boris Andrianov to comment on this report.

[Andrianov] There is no need to hide the fact that right now in the West, so-called specialists on Afghanistan are being particularly zealous. They persistently assert, with unprecedented vigor, that the Afghan government is incapable of establishing peace and calm in the country. Despite this, realistically-minded politicians of the Arab east realize the groundlessness of such conclusions, although at the same time they are aware that the domestic political situation at present in Afghanistan is complicated. The situation there is indeed acute. Following the course of national reconciliation, the Afghan leadership is making every effort to end the fratricidal war as soon as possible.

However, the leaders of the Alliance of Seven, a rebel grouping, refuse to give a positive response to Kabul's proposal. They reject the idea of compromise, stating that there can be no question of compromise. Moreover, representatives of this armed opposition have virtually made an ultimatum to remove the present Afghan government from power and to replace it with a sorry excuse for a provisional transitional government. Incidentally, the Alliance of Seven has already rushed to form it, declaring that it consists of 28 members. Exactly half of them represent the rebels, seven are the so-called Afghan refugees, and the remaining seven, it is stated, are Muslims presently serving in Kabul. It is quite obvious that this kind of sharing shows the opposition's intention to have three-fourths of the seats in this cabinet, and, consequently, to dictate its will. And this allows one to judge what the rebels' long-term plans are.

This totally dubious initiative has been picked up by Pakistan, and now it is persistently demanded that the replacement of the Kabul government be carried out before agreements on an Afghan settlement are signed in Geneva. And yet the basis of this settlement is the withdrawal of Soviet troops, which is in no way connected to the setting up of a new coalition government. In other words, it is linked to the completion of the policy of national reconciliation.

It turns out that the Islamabad regime, in actual fact, is not only distorting the essence of the mandate of the Geneva talks, but is also manifesting its intention to block them. One gets the impression that the Islamabad rulers are conducting things in such a way as to turn the Geneva process into a kind of hostage for terms of the establishment of a government in Afghanistan which suits Pakistan. Evidently it requires such a government so as to continue its interference in the internal affairs of that sovereign state. Having shamelessly replaced its former stance with one diametrically opposed to it,

Pakistan has given the world public grounds to believe that the Ziaul Haq regime is far from guided by the desire to ensure the development of democratic processes in Afghanistan. As can be seen, it is pursuing its own interests, which, judging by everything, lie in maintaining instability in Afghanistan and in this way to gain the opportunity to retain an important role in the affairs of the region. This, Islamabad reckons, will allow it to go on enjoying the support of the United States, for whom Pakistan will, as before, be necessary as the instrument of U.S. plans in South and Southeast Asia.

Such calculations cannot fail to alarm all those who link the ending of the undeclared war in Afghanistan and the elimination of one of the most serious and painful regional conflicts on our planet with the successful completion of the Geneva process.

### Pakistan 'Handsomely Paid'

*LD281134 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0350 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] It is 0650 Moscow time and time for our Mayak international commentary. The peace settlement process in Afghanistan remains one of the leading subjects in the news agency reports. Here is international affairs journalist Nikolay Shishlin:

[Shishlin] The talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan being held under the aegis of Diego Cordovez, deputy secretary-general of the United Nations Organization, resume in Geneva on 2 March. There are grounds to assume that this round of the talks could be the last. This is connected, to a crucial extent, with the policy of national reconciliation being pursued by Kabul, and just as crucially with the Soviet Union's political decision to withdraw our troops from Afghanistan and the announcement of a timetable for their withdrawal.

However, I think that in itself the process of achieving a political settlement to the Afghan problem cannot be an easy one. On the one hand, Pakistan has a vested interest in seeing peace triumph in its neighbor country and in seeing its neighbor country calm. On the other hand, Pakistan is being handsomely paid. It is being paid by the United States, where the administration has made a perfectly clear statement that it has an interest in resolving the Afghan problem. At the same time, Washington often experiences a feeling of joy when the Soviet Union has a headache, and the broad military assistance given to the armed opposition in Afghanistan is linked to this. Therefore, one has to be prepared for very serious political and diplomatic work, for very serious efforts, and this applies, first and foremost of course, to the participants in the talks which resume in Geneva in the next day or two.

Still, the main thing now is that we can see how far the national reconciliation process in Afghanistan is developing in 1988, and that it is on the foundation of that national reconciliation process that the premises have formed for the Afghan conflict to become a thing of the past. This unique opportunity has been engendered by the positive processes which are developing in international relations as such and by the Soviet Union's bold and original policy, which is aimed at radically improving and smoothing-out international relations.

### Petrovskiy Discusses Afghan Proposals

*PM291028 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 9, 29 Feb-4 Mar 88 (Signed to Press 25 Feb) p 2*

[Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent A. Meshcherskiy: "How To Untie the Afghan Knot"—date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] The Statement of M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Afghanistan creates all the preconditions for the immediate settlement of one of the gravest, most painful regional conflicts.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent A. Meshcherskiy talks with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy on the normalization of the Afghanistan situation.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: What has the world's reaction been to M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan?

Petrovskiy: One can only speak of the initial reaction, because only 2 weeks have elapsed. But even these 2 weeks enable us to conclude that the statement has been at the center of world public attention. It is no exaggeration to say that it has left no one indifferent. People are arguing and talking about it.

In the main, the reaction is one of good will. This is due first and foremost to the fact that it is a question of a political settlement of one of the acute crisis situations of our day, and, second and no less important, people rightly expect the untying of the Afghan knot to have the most profound influence on the unblocking of other critical conflict situations.

For instance, the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan has been in progress since 15 January 1987. Today this policy of national reconciliation serves, I believe, as a kind of prototype for an approach to resolving, with certain modifications, other crisis situations. Statesmen in both Nicaragua and Cambodia are turning to it.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: What must the participants in the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva do to ensure that this round of talks is really the last?

Petrovskiy: The talks begin on 2 March. Like our Afghan colleagues, we proceed on the basis that this round should be the last. After all, the drafting of the four documents is already nearly finished (for more detail, see ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No. 5, 1988—Editor). It only remained to set a schedule acceptable to everyone for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. And that schedule was set in M.S. Gorbachev's Statement, which said that **working on the basis that the signing of the agreements on a settlement takes place not later than 15 March, the troop withdrawal could begin 60 days later—15 May.**

After this last question had been answered, all the conditions for a settlement appeared to have been created. However, one of the participants in the talks, namely **Pakistan**, adopted a position which does nothing to promote the speedy completion of work. Pakistan puts forward as the main problem the problem of refugees. And it claims that the conditions have not yet been created for the return of the refugees.

The refugee question is a serious matter, nobody is discounting it, and one of the Geneva accords is devoted to it. But it is characteristic that if you look more closely and try to grasp the essence of the formulation of this question, it turns out that the refugee question does not, it seems to me, worry Pakistan on its own account: It is being raised in order to put forward demands for the creation of a government in Kabul that, as the Pakistanis put it, everyone would trust. But in reality Pakistan would like the agreement to be signed not with the legitimate government of Afghanistan, the government headed by President Najibullah, that is, the government that represents the country in the United Nations, the nonaligned movement, and other international organizations, but with some other, provisional government.

It is this position on Pakistan's part that, to call things by their names, is now the main obstacle.

USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov visited Pakistan and set forth the Soviet Union's position, and he said, in particular, that the Pakistani side now bears the responsibility for the outcome of this round of talks.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: You have set forth Pakistan's position. But what are the positions of the other countries concerned in this regional conflict? Clearly their interests and approaches do not coincide?

Petrovskiy: Quite true. The sides' positions on this question differ, of course. Take **Iran**, a country with an 800-km border with Afghanistan. How the political settlement process goes depends on Iran's approach too. A few days ago I was in Tehran, where I had instructions to convey to President Khamene'i a message from M.S. Gorbachev on the Afghan question.

I must say that our message was on the whole received with great interest by the Iranian leadership. We were told that although Iran is not taking part in the Geneva talks, it is in favor of progress in the cause of a settlement. As the Iranians stressed, the erection of obstacles on this path would not meet the interests of countries in the region.

Naturally, not everything in Iran's position is equally valid from our point of view, but nonetheless, on the fundamental issue the Iranians made an absolutely clear statement that they are committed to a political settlement over Afghanistan.

As for the **U.S.** position, on the one hand there is a certain similarity with Pakistan's position, but there are also peculiarities which emerged during the Soviet-American talks. First and foremost, there is more emphasis on questions of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

We had a thorough exchange of opinions: We explained our position concerning the time scale, stressing what dictated the choice of date, 15 May, **and we noted that our proposals envisage two stages, and that it is a question of withdrawing a comparatively larger proportion of the Soviet contingent in the first stage.** We believe that our position clears up the questions raised by the American side, if it is really raising them on the basis of the desire to understand our position, rather than for other reasons.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: In the event of the signing of the four Geneva agreements, what will be the guarantees of compliance with the terms of these agreements, and what could be done to prevent possible bloodshed?

Petrovskiy: Among the documents to be signed in Geneva there is an agreement on guarantees of noninterference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. This document stipulates that **the guarantors of noninterference are the Soviet Union and the United States.** And the document contains a pledge to refrain from interference in any form in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan and to respect the commitments enshrined in the Afghan-Pakistani agreement on noninterference.

I must say that although these commitments by the two major powers in themselves have great moral and political force, in addition to this, provision is made for a mechanism for verification of the fulfillment of the agreements. **It is planned, in particular, to create inspection groups drawn from the UN forces,** which will operate under the direct leadership of the deputy UN secretary general.

It is intended that the groups will carry out on-site inspections to investigate suggested violations and draw up reports which will be submitted to the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Inspections could take place both on the demand of the sides and on the initiative of the deputy UN secretary general.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: What part did the USSR Foreign Ministry play in the settlement of the Afghanistan situation?

Petrovskiy: Our ministry has at its disposal, above all, diplomatic means and the basic mechanism for using them—talks. Although the USSR is not taking part in the Geneva talks, we maintain close contacts with our colleagues from the Republic of Afghanistan. Moreover, as I have said, we have had talks with Pakistan and Iran and special representatives of the USSR Foreign Ministry were sent to the most important Muslim countries of the world to discuss settlement problems.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: The Afghan problem, apart from its international aspects, also has an important internal dimension for us. The fate of this settlement profoundly concerns Soviet people, and our readers in particular. What would you like to say to them?

Petrovskiy: The decisive stage has arrived, I am convinced of that. For its part, the Soviet Union has done everything possible to achieve a result in the near future. The main thing now is not to waste this historic opportunity and to achieve a political settlement in Afghanistan, and then start thinking about which regional conflict to overcome next. But that needs responsibility, political will, and determination on the part of states and peoples.

## Afghan Private Sector Receives Soviet Aid

### Amin Signs Agreements

*LD262330 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—The participation of private Afghan companies in cooperation with the Soviet Union is a weighty contribution to the enhancement of Afghanistan's economic potential. This is how the role of the new form of these business relations between the two countries was assessed by Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin, first deputy chairman of Afghanistan's Council of Ministers. He led the Afghan delegation at the talks which ended in Moscow today.

Speaking at the ceremony of the signing of the final documents, Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin pointed to the successful development of cooperation between private Afghan firms and Soviet organizations in the construction of enterprises of the light and the food industries, of the (?building of Afghanistan). Contracts for the construction of 28 facilities, including a bicycle assembling plant in Kabul, confectioneries, bakeries have been signed by now. Prospects for a considerable expansion of this type of business relations were considered during the talks. New agreements about joint implementation of projects in various areas of Afghanistan's economy might be concluded in near future.

The talks held resulted in intergovernmental protocols on the expansion of bilateral cooperation in the area of communications and construction of facilities with the participation of Afghan private sector. The protocols were signed by heads of the delegations—USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev and Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin.

The head of the Afghan delegation spoke highly of the decision of the Soviet side to assist Afghanistan in the construction of automatic telephone exchanges in Kabul and in various provinces, as well as the construction of four repair shops. This area of bilateral cooperation is of much importance for Afghanistan, he said.

### Debt Repayment Postponed

*LD272010 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] In the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations yesterday, First Deputy Prime Minister Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin and USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Katushev signed a protocol on economic and technical cooperation in communications and a protocol on postponing the payments on the USSR's loan.

According to these protocols, the Soviet Government has agreed to provide economic cooperation to the Republic of Afghanistan in establishing four workshops in the provincial centers in order to repair communications equipment, as well as the construction of automatic telephone stations in the provinces with a capacity of 15,000 lines. Soviet establishments will carry out the survey and construction of these projects between 1988 and 1990.

Also, with regard to the protocol on postponing the payment for credit, the Soviet side agreed to postpone the payment, worth more than R80 million, over the next 10 years.

According to another report, another protocol was also signed on the creation of small- and medium-sized industrial projects for 1988 with the participation of the private sector. These are to be financed from the R20 million credit of the Soviet Union.

The report adds that the esteemed Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin met with Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in the Kremlin palace on 26 February and discussed matters of mutual interest. During this meeting the Soviet side welcomed the implementation of the national reconciliation policy. Both sides regarded the statements by President Najibullah of Afghanistan and by General Secretary Gorbachev of the CPSU Central Committee as a serious initiative aimed at the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

### Contracts With Afghan Entrepreneurs

*PM291143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report: "Made in Afghanistan for the First Time. Kabul's 'Bakhtar' Factory Has Begun Bicycle Production With Soviet Assistance"]

[Excerpts] Kabul—In Afghanistan, bicycles are not only a means of transport, but also a luxury. Prices in the stores range from 30,000 afghanis for a British model to 10-15,000 afghanis for an Indian or Chinese one. [Passage omitted]

But everything indicates that a bicycle boom lies in store for Afghanistan. At any rate the entrepreneur Fazl Rahman Insaf, who owns 60 percent of the capital of the "Bakhtar" factory which has just been set up in Kabul, intends to devote all his efforts to that end. Naturally, with great benefit to himself.

Indeed, Mr Insaf has obtained a loan on advantageous terms via the chamber of trade and industry, which in its turn enjoys credit granted on preferential terms to the Afghan Government by the Soviet Union. The remaining 40 percent of the bicycle assembly enterprise's capital belongs to the chamber of trade and industry. His product's prime cost is such that Insaf is hoping to instantly dominate the local market and monopolize it by selling "Bakhtar" bicycles at the unbelievable price of 4,000 afghanis.

The Soviet foreign trade association "Prommashekspor" [Industrial Machine Export] and the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry Minsk Motorcycle and Bicycle Plant have helped organize production. Toward the end of last year subassemblies and technical equipment for assembling the first thousand bicycles were delivered to the new enterprise from the Soviet Union. Just before the new year, mechanical engineer Yuriy Kovalenko from Minsk set up the production process, and a few days ago the first 20 Afghan bicycles, gleaming with blue paint and nickel, were presented to participants in a ceremony in the factory yard.

Soviet cooperation with the private sector of the economy is a new phenomenon, and probably not only in our relations with Afghanistan but in general with the developing countries. In my view, it is promising. The private sector is the main one in the Afghan economy. It accounted for 80.4 percent of GNP in 1986, and 52 percent in industry. Moreover, the Afghans make no secret of the fact that the state sector still does not function as efficiently as one might wish, although for a while they tried to develop it to the detriment of the private sector. The policy of national reconciliation has emphasized the correct aspects, and now the authorities are making significant efforts to create legal, organizational, and other conditions conducive to the favorable development of private enterprise. But this is a subject for separate discussion.

In April last year, an intergovernmental agreement was concluded between the USSR and Afghanistan on economic and technical cooperation in constructing projects in the neighboring country with the participation of the private sector. The preferential Soviet credit, which Insaf used skillfully, is intended to pay for technical equipment from the USSR, certain materials, and also design and startup and adjustment work by Soviet organizations. Twenty-eight contracts have already been signed with Afghan entrepreneurs for the creation of bakeries, salt purification enterprises, confectionery factories, and small construction companies in the capital and the provinces. Such cooperation is profitable for private operators, who know how to count their pennies—there have been more than 170 applications for Soviet assistance in organizing new factories. I see this as a typical symptom in the political sphere—patriotic entrepreneurs who have a good sense of which way events are moving are ready to make their contribution to developing the national economy, and consequently to establishing peace in their native land. [passage omitted]

### Pakistan Supports Indian Punjab 'Terrorists'

*LD290802 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] New Delhi February 29 TASS—Over the past twenty-four hours, eight persons fell at the bullets of the terrorists in India's Punjab state. The terrorists supported by the forces of international imperialism and reaction are seeking a partitioning of India and setting up of a puppet "Khalistan" state. As the UNI news agency said, these crimes were perpetrated in the rural areas of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ropar Districts.

Over the first two months of the current year, more than 300 persons have already fallen at the hands of the extremists. An atmosphere of suspicion and fear prevails in Punjab. Julio Ribeiro, director-general of the Punjab police, said in an interview with the newspaper TELEGRAPH that a considerable measure of responsibility for the fresh outbreak of violence and murder in that strategic northwestern state is borne by Pakistan, which supports the terrorists. In the camps specially set up in Pakistan's territory, the extremists are undergoing training in terrorist practices. Modern weapons are illegally shipped across the border from Pakistan into Punjab.

## Reportage on Shultz Visit to Mideast

### Palestinians Call Boycott

*LD261842 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Excerpt] Cairo February 26 TASS—TASS correspondent Grigoriy Kamenskiy reports:

A powerful upsurge of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian Arab people against the Israeli occupation marked the start of the visit to Israel by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. The general strike continues on the occupied territories. It was declared in protest against the Israeli visit by Shultz who seeks to thrust on the Palestinians an autonomy plan under the guise of a "new" American initiative. The PLO leadership called on all Palestinian organizations and politicians to boycott the notorious initiative of the U.S. Administration. According to reports pouring in to the Egyptian capital, mass demonstrations of Arab population started on Thursday early morning in Nablus, Ramallah, Jenin, Hebron, Tulkarm and other cities and villages, as well as in Palestinian refugee camps on the Jordan West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Demonstrators bore posters and streamers reading "Long live independent Palestinian state." "Yes to international peace conference, no to Shultz plans." Protesters chanted slogans in support of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Palestinians were especially active in Jerusalem. [passage omitted]

## Shultz Intends 'Help for Israel'

*PM290849 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 7*

[Own correspondent Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the "Correspondent Comments" rubric: "Same Baggage as Before"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Feb—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has set out for his trip to the Near East against a backdrop of deep skepticism and suspicion of double-dealing. His itinerary will take in Israel, Jordan, Syria, and Egypt.

Shultz' propaganda trip has been impressively organized. Speeches about "sincere balanced attempts" on the part of the United States to defuse the dangerous Near East situation and achieve a just, all-embracing settlement now issue forth from various Washington rostrums. Addressing a press conference today, President Reagan said, among other things, that the "time has come for all sides to jettison their old ideas and stances."

These appeals, however, are scarcely supported by the contents of the baggage Shultz is taking with him. It is obvious from press reports and statements by well-informed specialists that what is involved is a clear intention to revive the failed Camp David accords. It is reported that the secretary of state will hand America's "strategic ally" a message containing promises that it will not insist on Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and will not allow the creation of an autonomous Palestinian state. Moreover, Washington has no intention of changing its negative attitude to the idea, never more urgent than now, of holding a UN-sponsored international conference in which all conflicting parties, including the PLO and the permanent members of the UN security Council, would be involved.

THE WASHINGTON POST writes in this regard that Shultz will not insist on discussing the "procedural questions" of convening such a conference "partially" because of its nonacceptance by Israel. In actuality, American-Israeli views are not partially but wholly the same—both Washington and Tel Aviv would like to deny the USSR its due role and interests in the region and exclude it from the Near East process.

Incidentally, American diplomacy's clearly outmoded aims suit few people today. In any event, the leaders of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan have already unequivocally stated that the Camp David "option" cannot serve as the basis for talks.

But what, then, remains of America's "new peace initiative"? Surely they realise in Washington that although it has barely gotten off the ground, it already looks about to expire? No, they would appear not to be deluding themselves here. But 3 months of disturbances by the population of the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank and Tel Aviv's extremely brutal terror are making its American protectors quite worried.

It may thus be concluded that one of the major goals of Shultz' trip is to give help to Israel.

## New Ideas Only 'Rehash'

*LD261850 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 26 Feb 88*

["US Saber-Rattling in Middle East Irritates Even Allies"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—The capitals of the Middle Eastern countries directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict these days are frequented by politicians and statesmen. One current visitor to the region is U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The imperative of the day is to defuse the conflict in the Middle East as soon as possible since any further delay is fraught with dangerous and unpredictable complications, including the growth of fertile ground for crusading extremism.

Two approaches to resolving the sharp issue are in evidence today.

One, reflecting the increasingly strong belief of the vast majority of the international community in the need for a drastic change for the better in the Middle East, calls for a daring and determined turn to collective quests for an above-board and fair peace.

The other, failing to see that there is, and can be, no way to peace other than equal security and regard for the legitimate interests of one another, is a stubborn defense of separate deals.

The only sensible way out is in the earliest commencement of talks for a comprehensive and just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict since the Palestinian problem, which lies at its basis, is a political one and can only be solved by political means.

Banking on force, confrontation and pressure to make others bend to one's will is untenable and, moreover, dangerous.

In Moscow's diplomatic circles it is believed that the presence of a U.S. naval force in the Persian Gulf is a factor sustaining tension in the region. This factor has led to a situation where even many U.S. allies are critical of Washington's escalating militarist activity in the Middle East.

In Washington they talk much about new American proposals for activating the process of achieving peace in the Middle East. The U.S. secretary of state has come to the Middle East to try and realize them.

But how can they activate anything if the new ideas offered by him are nothing more than a rehash of old American plans for Palestinian autonomy.

The U.S. concept for a Middle East settlement, a highly-placed official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry said in this connection, has prompted doubts everywhere precisely because it ignores the central issue, that of creating an independent Palestinian state. The U.S. side cannot but reckon with this.

As far as Tel Aviv is concerned, the violations of Palestinians' human rights, which are continuing on the same wide scale as before, and the tendency whereby Israeli authorities describe any expression by Palestinians of their national feelings as terrorist activity and so crack down on it are vivid evidence of Israel's unwillingness to fulfill the will of the world community for convening an international conference on the Middle East and to offer any positive reaction to Arabs' calls for peace.

## Shultz Corrects Reagan Remarks

*LD261633 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko:

Time and again the U.S. State Department is forced to adjust the President's "fire" on foreign policy "targets". This time George Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state, himself was forced to step in. The news service of the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES quoted George Shultz as "correcting" the latest statement by the President, who claimed that the ten-week-old Palestinian actions were "not just spontaneous and home-grown" but were "stirred up" by certain people suspected of terrorism and considered to have arrived from the outside.

In translation from the President's long sentences this was to mean, first and foremost, "international terrorism", "the hand of the east", and so on, and so forth.

On his part George Shultz made an "adjustment" statement to newsmen by saying that the Palestinian uprising was locally grown. Underlying it, he said, is the problem that considerable numbers of people, who are under occupation, do not have the basic rights to self-administration.

It must be admitted that the correction made by the U.S. secretary of state is quite to the point, since it is one thing to ascribe the violence perpetrated by the Israeli occupiers over the "rebellious" Arabs to "outsiders encouraging the trouble" in those areas, and another thing is to recognize that the mass actions are a form of independent expression of the will by the Arab population, whose patience has been exhausted in the face of the Israeli repressions and atrocities.

In recent days the situation in the occupied Arab lands was extremely tense, but it has further deteriorated in connection with the visit of George Shultz to Israel. The general strike called in protest against the arrival of the U.S. secretary of state, has completely paralyzed the whole life on the West Bank of the Jordan River and Gaza sector. Shops, factories and educational establishments have been closed, traffic on the roads has been halted. An official Israeli army spokesman admitted that "preventive" arrests had been made among the Arab population.

The latest pronouncements by members of the Israeli cabinet have poured oil into the flames. Hardly has George Shultz started his new Middle East "peace mission" has the Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres spelled out his terms as follows: "No to a Palestinian State east of the Jordan River, which is Israel's security border, no to talks on territories. Jerusalem remains the eternal and indivisible capital of the Israeli state."

Under these conditions the joint leadership of the uprising has decided that no Palestinian will meet Shultz and participate in the "performance" whose organizers would wish only to perpetuate the Israeli presence on the occupied Arab lands.

The current events on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza sector are convincing proof of the need for the speediest just settlement in that region—by the

holding of a plenipotentiary international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation—the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

As long as partial measures, which are most of all reminiscent of the old ones, the separate deals which brought nothing positive, are proposed, a just and lasting peace in the region will remain a distant perspective.

### 'Massive Protest Actions'

*LD271633 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Cairo February 27 TASS—Massive protest actions of Palestinians swept yesterday all the cities and villages of the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza sector. According to reports reaching here, tens of thousands of people took to the streets in protest against the visit of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to Israel. They carried posters and streamers voicing support for the Palestine Liberation Organization and demanding the termination of barbaric repressions and the occupation of their land by Tel Aviv. Demonstrators strongly denounced the policy of Washington which is rendering all-round assistance to Israeli invaders. The biggest demonstrations were held in the cities of Gaza, Nabulus, Al Khalil [Hebron], Ramallah and Halhul.

Select units of the Israeli Army and security forces were dispatched to suppress the protest actions. Punitive troops fired at defenseless demonstrators from submachine-guns, threw grenades with a highly toxic gas at them, beat them with butts and clubs. Another four people were killed by Israeli soldiers last Friday, including a 12-year-old boy and a Palestinian woman. Some 100 people were wounded by bullets and poisoned with gas. Wholesale arrests are staged there.

Several Israeli soldiers forced the locks of the doors of the Al-Ittihad hospital in Nablus where some 400 Arabs injured in clashes with the invaders were undergoing medical treatment. The Israeli soldiers broke into the hospital and began to methodically beat both the patients and the medical personnel.

Fierce clashes between Palestinians and the invaders continued last night in many areas. A general protest strike is going on in the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza sector.

Palestinian leaders in the occupied lands stated again Friday that they emphatically refused to meet U.S. Secretary of State Shultz who had arrived in the region with a view to stopping the uprising and imposing upon the Arabs capitulatory deals with Israel. A joint statement of all the public organizations of the regions circulated in the Gaza sector emphasized that Shultz's proposals did not take into account the just demands of the insurgent Palestinian people.

The appeals to stop terror in occupied areas are getting ever more insistent in Israel itself. A massive demonstration of Israelis was held in Tel Aviv yesterday. They demanded that the Israeli Government stop repressions against Palestinians and take to the path of a political settlement of the conflict.

### Syria Rejects Proposals

*LD280951 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Damascus February 28 TASS—BY TASS correspondent Aleksey Vlasov:

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has completed his brief visit to Syria.

At the airport, Shultz and Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' told newsmen that their talks had centered on the Middle East problem, the situation in Lebanon and matters of mutual interest.

They said that the two sides had expressed their ideas to each other but that they had come to no agreement. Faruq al-Shar' added that the Syrian stand on Middle East settlement remained unchanged.

Syria holds that settlement is impossible as long as Israel continues occupying Arab territories and unless the Palestinian people are granted their legitimate national rights recorded in U.N. resolutions, he said.

An international peace conference on the Middle East, under the U.N. aegis, with the participation of U.N. Security Council permament members and all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation, could be the only way to solve the problem, the Syrian minister said.

Shultz held talks with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad during which the sides discussed the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian popular uprising in occupied territories, SANA news agency reported.

They also discussed American proposals brought by the U.S. secretary of state. According to the agency, the Syrian side pointed out that the proposals could not help toward a comprehensive and just solution of the Middle East problem.

Hafiz al-Asad said an international conference could be the only way to peace.

### Syrian Party Official Receives Delegation

*LD281934 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Damascus, 28 Feb (TASS)—'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy secretary general of the Syrian Ba'th party, received today a delegation of CPSU officials headed by M. Kh. Khalmukhamedov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. In the course of a conversation that took place, the sides discussed relations between the Ba'th party and the CPSU, as well as prospects for cooperation of the two parties in the field of higher education.

A. al-Ahmar gave a high assessment to the policies of the Soviet Union, which stands for creating an all-embracing system of peace and international security and for rejecting regional conflicts, which includes reaching a just and full settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of liberating the occupied Arab territories and offering legitimate national rights to the Arab people of Palestine.

Members of the delegation gave information on the great and varied work that is carried out in the Soviet Union in the field of popular and higher education and the results of the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which was devoted to the issue of restructuring education at all levels, with significant attention to developing international aspects of the ideology of restructuring.

Recent developments in the region were discussed in the course of the conversation, in particular the uprising in the territories occupied by Israel. The participants in the meeting expressed solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine, who are waging a steadfast struggle for their national rights.

### Moroccan King Receives Envoy, Gorbachev Message

*LD271108 Moscow TASS in English 1053 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Rabat February 27 TASS—On Friday King Hassan II of Morocco received in the city of Marrakech Mikhail Sytenko, a special representative of the Soviet leadership, who conveyed an oral message of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Afghanistan to the head of the Moroccan state.

The Moroccan side made a positive appraisal of the Soviet Union's initiative on a settlement in Afghanistan, giving a real chance for a political settlement of the Afghan problem. During the talk the sides examined other pressing issues of the international situation and the development of bilateral Soviet-Moroccan relations.

### Supreme Soviet Delegation Departs for Libya

*LD291003 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—A Soviet delegation led by Bally Yazkuliyev, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Moscow for Tripoli today.

The delegation will take part in celebrations marking the 11th anniversary of people's government in the socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

### Briefs

#### Sudan-Soviet Friendship House

Khartoum, 28 Feb (TASS)—The opening of a Sudan-Soviet House of Friendship took place here in a ceremonial atmosphere on saturday. Speaking at the soiree devoted to this event, Fagr al-Din Muhammad, president of the Society of Sudan-Soviet Friendship, noted that the peoples of the USSR and Sudan are linked by relations of friendship and sincere affinity. Public and political figures from Sudan and representatives of the diplomatic corps attended the festive soiree. [Text] [*Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0655 GMT 28 Feb 88 LD*]

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### Mugabe Receives Envoy, Gorbachev Message

*LD261821 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Harare February 26 TASS—Robert Mugabe, chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and president of Zimbabwe, today received here Ambassador at Large Vyacheslav Ustinov, a special representative of the Soviet leadership who conveyed to him an oral message from Mikhail Gorbachev on Afghanistan.

During the meeting Mugabe spoke positively of the Soviet Union's initiative for settling the situation regarding Afghanistan.

He described the related statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee of February 8 as a sensible step in the right direction, which could be used as an example in dealing with other international problems.

It was pointed out that the proposal on the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan offered a real way of settling the protracted conflict in the region.

The Zimbabwean leader expressed the hope for a successful conclusion of Geneva talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan. He also stressed the Non-Aligned Movement's readiness to facilitate an Afghan settlement.

Mugabe asked Ustinov to convey his gratitude for the message and the best of wishes to Gorbachev.

### OAU Council Condemns Western Policy on RSA

*LD281128 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Addis Ababa February 28 TASS—Deliverance of the south of Africa from the vestiges of colonialism and racism is the main political task of the OAU member-countries, says a resolution which was adopted at the 47th session of the Ministerial Council of the Organization of African Unity which ended here today.

Having analysed the situation in the southern part of the continent, participants in the session noted that South Africa's racist regime does not want to give up the state terrorism policy. It is heightening repressions against the African population of the country, and is seeking to destabilize the situation in the frontline states. The South African government's decision to put a ban on activities of 17 anti-racist organizations in the country is absolutely unlawful, the resolution stresses.

In this connection the OAU Ministerial Council said it was necessary to broaden all-round support for the national-liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia and demanded undelayed introduction of mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime.

The OAU Ministerial Council denounced the governments of the United States, Britain, West Germany and other states which raise obstacles on this road.

### Ethiopian Food Aid Agreement Signed

#### Gift of Free Wheat

*LD251832 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 25 Feb 88*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] An agreement has been signed on giving Soviet food aid to the Ethiopian people, who are suffering from drought. [Correspondent Kraminov—identified from caption] We are present at a purely technical, working event, though not entirely devoid of all solemnity. It was announced almost a month ago that the Soviet Union would offer Ethiopia a large amount of food gratuitiously, namely 250,000 tonnes of wheat—almost as much as all other countries and international organizations taken together have pledged. The document that has just been signed only specifies the details: when, how much, at what port the cargo will be delivered—something invaluable under the present conditions, when 5 million Ethiopians are under threat of starvation.

Berhanu Jambere, head of the Ethiopian aid and restoration commission, said that the gift is accepted with great gratitude by the Ethiopian people. We see your country as our most reliable ally in the fight against drought, he said.

#### Ethiopian Official Expresses Thanks

*EA261145 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 25 Feb 88*

[Text] An agreement on Soviet aid to drought-affected people in Ethiopia has been signed in Addis Ababa. It has been disclosed that the Soviet Union will give 250,000 tonnes of free wheat to the Ethiopian people. After signing the agreement, Comrade Berhanu Jembere, head of the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission [RRC], said:

[Begin Jembere recording] It is clear that we and the international community know that the document we have signed today is for very important aid which the Soviet Government, people, and the CPSU Central Committee will donate to enable us to overcome the current problem in our country. The high regard of Ethiopians for this aid [words indistinct] has been expressed in person and through the mass media on various occasions. We are proud of and confident in the Soviet Union, which has given all-round support to the Ethiopian people, government, and our revolution, and has today rapidly acted on our problem and extended this great amount of friendly aid. Aid given by the Soviet Union during the drought problem of 1984-85 in the form of aircraft, helicopters, some 300 trucks, workers, crew, and technicians, with all expenses covered, greatly contributed to averting very serious and difficult problems. We who are coordinating and distributing the aid, in particular our people who have benefited from the aid, have a very high regard for it, and it will be registered in the history of our revolution. We clearly realize that the all-round support being given to strengthen our revolution and the increasing of joint projects to enable us to become economically self-reliant will strengthen the existing friendship.

The Ethiopian people are very grateful for the donation of 250,000 tons of wheat and the extension by one year of the service of three Antonovs and five helicopters. This rapid action in time of need is a clear indication of friendship, solidarity, and proletarian internationalism. I express thanks on behalf of the aid recipient compatriots, the Ethiopian people, and the RRC. I would like humbly to request that our thanks be conveyed with a pure spirit of friendship to the CPSU Central Committee secretary general, the USSR Government, and people. Thank you. [end recording]

## East Europe

### Gorbachev To Visit SFRY in Mid-March

*LD291404 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will

pay an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia in mid-March at the invitation of the collective Presidency of Yugoslavia and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

## LCY Official: Socialism Must Endure Crises

*PM261521 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 7 14 Feb 88 p 6*

[Interview with LCY Central Committee Presidium member Ivica Racan by Viktor Tsoppi: "No Room for Illusions"]

[Text] MN: How effective is the system of socialist self-government given the rapid rate of scientific and technological progress? Don't the principles of self-government contradict the interests of the state?

I.R.: The Communist Movement is now parting with many illusions. There's less and less room for romanticism. Our sacred and blind faith in socialism—as an open road, without twists or turns, to communism—has obscured the difficulty and enormity of the tasks we set ourselves. In real life, socialism must endure occasional crises. Nevertheless, the situation in Yugoslavia today has taken many of us by surprise.

MN: Why?

I.R.: Because our analysis of society's evolution was not quite up to par. As a Marxist, I am convinced that we must critically analyze past and present events in order to be prepared for the Future.

MN: The current crisis is a big topic now in Yugoslavia. Yet people used to think that crises could only occur in capitalist societies.

I.R.: Exactly. We communists have been saying for decades that capitalism cannot cope with its own crises. Wishful thinking. But once we opened our eyes, we saw that capitalism was a much more flexible and tenacious system than we thought.

MN: Capitalism doesn't have one foot in the grave.

I.R.: By no means. True, far from everything is perfect in that world. But we Communists must catch up on a sober analysis of the capitalist system. It is of vital importance for us now.

MN: Especially since we are in for a long period of coexistence and must assert ourselves through peaceful competition and cooperation within the framework of an increasingly interdependent world.

I.R.: Much depends on socialism's further development: the creation of new and more just relations in the sphere of production, and of a new kind of humanism based on all our positive experience from the past. The positive aspect of negative phenomena is that they let us know we've made a mistake or miscalculated.

MN: They remind us that we can err.

I.R.: And also that we are Communists, that we are posing ourselves really epoch-making tasks. We must keep our feet on the ground in times of trouble. We are getting rid of the opportunism hanging over our heads, like a sword of Damocles, or getting rid of the feeling of hopelessness and of being doomed.

MN: In the West, they're always claiming that Marxism-Leninism has discredited itself.

I.R.: We turn them into antiquated rules divorced from reality. And Marxism loses its constructiveness as a theory. But Marxism is a creative theory and must be used in a creative manner.

MN: Which issues of socialist construction, in your opinion, should be creatively reconsidered?

I.R.: The relations between socialist society and the state. In Yugoslavia, for example, the state hinders the development of socialism more than it helps it. We call it the issue of etatism (from the French etat-state, ED.). If we consider the emergence and development of self-government in Yugoslavia, since the beginning of the 1950s, the constant is the contest between self-government and etatism. That contest encompasses socio-economic, cultural, spiritual, and intellectual life.

Does this mean that nothing has changed in 30 years? No. The initial stages of self-government in a socially underdeveloped country differ radically from self-government today given the scientific and technological revolution which increasingly determines the contents of our lives and the rate of progress.

Red tape and etatism managed to insinuate themselves in the social framework intended only for working people practising self-government. What caused the economic crisis? We have always said that under true socialism the production of commodities must be market-oriented. However, we didn't have a stage-by-stage plan for turning this principle into a reality. So self-governing enterprises became less dependent on the demands of domestic and foreign markets and more dependent on the whims of local authorities.

It's really bad when voluntaristic etatism starts to rule the economy of a country where socialist, self-government is taking hold.

MN: In the Soviet Union, the transition to a new economic model has revealed that the managerial apparatus cannot cope when economic profitableness and democratic solutions are thrown into the equation.

I.R.: The nature of etatism makes it incapable of catering for demands of technological progress. It isn't cost-effective. Instead it promotes the growth of the technological bureaucracy and, in this case, socialist society cannot win.

We are looking for new and more effective solutions. Some people believe that problems in production relations can be solved all at once, by one decision, one decree. This is not our strategy, however, because it is not socialism. It's necessary that the socialism we've chosen be able to constantly correct itself and adjust.

We must free ourselves from the entanglement of all kinds of ideological illusions, and dogmatism. We must resist the appeal to preserve the status quo by all means. We must break the opposition to reconstruction. We must break the habit of developing the country under the aegis of etatism.

I'm convinced that breaking through our crises in Yugoslavia and your perestroyka in the USSR will require a certain social coercion.

The question is how to alleviate the pain of that coercion, how to make good use of public solidarity, how to make socialist humanism work at a time of dire trials. We are now at a crossroad in our development we have many more crossroads in store for us.

We—Yugoslavia and other socialist countries—must seriously consider the connection between the party and democracy. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is not a ruling party. The LCY is the ideological and political vanguard of the self-governing society. The question is: Has the LCY fulfilled its function or has it turned into the main force of etatism? We are aware that the LCY is in crisis. Tito warned us of the danger of fusing the government-bureaucratic forces and the party. This is a burning issue for us right now.

MN: What about the struggle for unity within the Yugoslavian League of Communists?

I.R.: It is of concern. The LCY doesn't exist in a void. The critical issue now is the ability of the LCY leadership to give a realistic assessment of the situation in its ranks and the League's place in society. We must make the ideological and political unity of the LCY a reality consistent with the principles and aims of our revolution.

To achieve this we must create conditions conducive for democratic discussion of the current crisis and show more tolerance for the minority view. In this way, our conclusions and plans will be more substantial and popular ones. Then the decisions of the LCY leadership won't be decrees imposed by Communists, but resolutions, accepted by the entire Party—and they'll be conscientiously carried out. It's high time we do away with the "division of labour" within the LCY between those who delegate and those who do the work assigned.

MN: Much of what you say, Comrade Racan, is very near to the new Soviet thinking. We have decided to switch from rule by decree—the practice for decades—to economic and democratic methods of management. What is your opinion of our perestroyka?

I.R.: Communists can and must prove that the socialist transformation of society is within their powers. If we fail, socialism as a reality, as the best form of development of human civilization, may disappear. I'm sure that both Soviet and Yugoslavian Communists have adequate responses for the difficult challenges of the times. To abstain from responding to the challenge would mean to discredit socialism.

Perestroyka, in the name of which you, the Soviet Communists, and all Soviet people are now working, should result in revolutionary changes. We Yugoslavians sincerely wish you success.

There aren't any ready-made recipes for the international Communist movement, nor can there be. Fifteen years ago I was talking to my Soviet comrades about our experiences. They told me: "We are different, but we are pursuing the same aim. It's not important that some of us are proceeding over a paved road and others along a forest path." I interjected: "Who's on a path?" "You are," they said. Let's be objective. We've both covered a certain part of the way on paved roads and another part on forest paths. I believe that Perestroyka, openness and democratization are taking the Soviet Union in the right direction. It is significant that glasnost bears not only on issues of internal policy, but also on issues of foreign policy—common to all socialist countries.

## Further on Gromyko Delegation's Hungarian Visit

### Joint Communique

*PM290957 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 1,4*

["Joint Communique on the Official Friendly Visit by A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, to the Hungarian People's Republic"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, paid an official, friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Republic from 23-27 February 1988 at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

A meeting took place between A.A. Gromyko and J. Kadar, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party general secretary. During the meeting they informed each other on the socioeconomic development of their two countries and exchanged views on issues of Hungarian-Soviet relations and international life.

Talks were held with Nemeth, Politburo member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and president of Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and a conversation was held with [Karoly] Grosz, MSZMP Central Committee's Politburo member, Council of Ministers chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic. A.A. Gromyko delivered a speech at a session of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic, paid a visit to Fejer County, went to the "Videoton" enterprise in the Town of Szekesfehervar, and laid wreaths at the monument to Hungarian heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of their homeland and at the monument to Soviet liberator troops who died in battles with the Hitlerite fascists for the liberation of Hungary. A wreath was laid at the monument to V.I. Lenin.

During the talks and meetings, held in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality, and mutual comradely understanding, detailed information was exchanged on the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the implementation of reforms in Hungary. The negotiating parties stressed their common approach to topical issues of social development and international politics. They expressed the conviction that the implementation of the tasks marked out by the CPSU and the MSZMP would give further impetus to the cause of socialist building.

The parties stressed the accordance of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union and the aims and tasks of the stabilization and development program of the Hungarian People's Republic, which offers new opportunities for the utmost development of Soviet-Hungarian links and serves the causes of socialism and social progress. They noted with satisfaction that the relations of fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation of our countries and peoples have reached a high level and are fruitfully developing in keeping with the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

Large-scale commemorations were recently held in both countries to mark the 40th anniversary of the document's signing.

Both sides took the stand that interparty and interstate cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, and other fields is to be further deepened in the spirit of the fundamental accords on principle reached at the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and J. Kadar.

The sides emphasized the particular importance of increasing the efficiency of economic, technical, and scientific cooperation, including production cooperation and specialization, the founding of joint enterprises, mutually enriching exchanges of useful experience and the introduction of other new forms of cooperation, which serve to bring all existing reserves into play. They noted the importance of further improving cooperation realized in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and the activity carried out in the organization.

The sides considered the Soviet cultural days held in Hungary on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution an outstanding event of the cultural cooperation of the two countries. They spoke with great appreciation about the direct and expanding relations between the cultural, scientific, and educational institutions of the two countries, and consider it of great importance that a Hungarian cultural, scientific, and information center is to be shortly opened in Moscow, and a center for Hungarian sciences is to be set up at the Uzhgorod University. These will serve to strengthen the friendship and mutual intellectual enrichment of the two peoples. The sides took a stand for further deepening [relations] and raising the effectiveness of friendly relations between the republics, the counties, and cities in all spheres, developing cooperation in border areas, and extending direct relations between working people.

It is the firm resolution of the Soviet Union and Hungary to continue to closely collaborate in international affairs and to intensify their efforts to radically improve the political climate in the world, eliminate nuclear danger, establish an all-embracing system of international peace and security, and develop a constructive political dialogue and mutually beneficial cooperation between states.

The sides stressed the historical importance of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and U.S. Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The signing of the treaty proved there can be a shift from the arms race toward real nuclear disarmament. An outstanding step on this road would be the conclusion of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, alongside the observance by the sides of the Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, in the form in which it was signed in 1972, in a way that neither side abrogates it until the coordinated date.

Both sides voiced the conviction that it is necessary that no steps be taken which could hamper the implementation of the existing disarmament agreements and accords, or the achievement of new ones. In this relation, serious concern is caused by statements made by certain Western representatives concerning the intention to "compensate" the U.S. missiles to be eliminated in Europe under the treaty on intermediate- and short-range missiles, by the implementation of plans to modernize and increase nuclear and other weapons.

The sides hold it to be extremely important to successfully complete in the very near future the Soviet-U.S. talks on restricting and ending nuclear testing, and the multilateral talks on the complete and comprehensive ban on chemical weapons.

In the interest of advancing the European disarmament process, reducing the level of military confrontation, and strengthening confidence and good neighborliness between the states, it is the firm intention of the sides to achieve a considerable reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, following the course of the Warsaw Pact member states, which has been worked out collectively and in the spirit of the Budapest appeal.

Both sides are in favor of completing as quickly as possible the Vienna meeting of representatives of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe with major understandings that can be mutually accepted and that are aimed at deepening the all-European process on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act, over the full range of political, economic, and humanitarian issues. The resolve to promote the search for ways toward a just settlement through negotiations of regional conflicts and situations of crisis existing in various regions of the world was confirmed. The Hungarian side welcomes and considers as a concrete manifestation of the new political way of thinking Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of February 8, 1988, which opens the way to the political settlement of the situation that has come about regarding Afghanistan.

Both countries are in favor of further intensifying the role of the United Nations and of its being turned into an effective instrument of peace and international security.

At the talks it was noted with satisfaction that contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic, and between the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic are developing fruitfully. Striving to expand these links further and to raise their effectiveness, the sides voice their interest in a deepened exchange of experience on the fundamental directions of the development of constitutional law and development and the development of socialist democracy. In the interest of these aims, a regular exchange of delegations and groups of deputies will be carried out, and relevant publications and information materials will be sent to each other.

The sides hold it important to continue work aimed at the further improvement of cooperation between the parliaments of the socialist countries on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

The Soviet Union and Hungary attach great importance to expanding multifaceted parliamentary cooperation with all states in the interests of disarmament, and the establishment of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence, and the solution of the global problems that affect all humanity.

During the visit, an agreement was signed between the Governments of the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic on the setting up and the activity of the cultural, scientific, and information center of the Hungarian People's Republic in the Soviet Union. A plan for cooperation between the USSR Writers Union and the Hungarian Writers Association was also signed for 1988.

The official friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Republic of Andrey A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman contributed to the further strengthening of Soviet-Hungarian relations and to the deepening of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Hungary and demonstrated a mutual desire for the dynamic development of cooperation between the two countries.

A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, invited Karoly Nemeth, MSZMP Politburo member and president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, to make an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

## Antonov Reviews Cooperation

*AU262007 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Feb 88 p 3*

[Article by Aleksey Antonov, USSR Council of Ministers Presidium deputy chairman: "Mutually Advantageous Cooperation"]

[Text] It has been 4 decades since the Soviet Union and Hungary signed the agreement of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. The agreement, which has Marxist-Leninist principles and complete equality of rights as its basis, reflects our people's determined intention to deepen and expand our fraternal friendship and our mutually advantageous cooperation. The new agreement signed on 7 September 1967 reaffirmed these principles and further developed them.

Soviet-Hungarian friendship has withstood the tests of time. The multifaceted and mutually advantageous contacts between the Soviet Union and Hungary are constantly developing. The regular meetings between our party and state leaders play a decisive role in developing all our cooperation, and our meetings which outline the basic trends toward perfecting Soviet-Hungarian cooperation.

Our economic, technological, and scientific relations are developing dynamically. In 1987, the turnover of goods was nearly R9.7 billion which is almost 70 times the level stipulated at the time the agreement was signed.

The Soviet Union is Hungary's biggest commercial partner. Prior to World War II economic relations were almost non-existent between the two countries (the

Soviet Union had a 0.1 percent share of the Hungarian foreign trade turnover). Today, however, one-third of the Hungarian foreign trade turnover is conducted with the Soviet Union. Hungary also has an important share of the Soviet exchange of goods turnover, a share constantly amounting to approximately 6.5 percent. Thus Hungary is traditionally in fifth place among the USSR partners.

The significance of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation is seen not only in its extent and dynamics, but also by its effect on the rate of growth of the people's economy and on improving efficiency.

The Soviet Union is the most important and constant supplier of fuel and raw materials to Hungarian economy. These materials continuously amount to 76 percent of the Soviet exports shipped to Hungary. Soviet fuel and raw material shipments contribute to meeting Hungary's energy requirements and establish a lasting basis for the Hungarian chemical industry, oil chemistry and processing, and for ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy. In the current 5-year plan, more than 90 percent of Hungarian imports of oil, oil derivatives, natural gas, electric energy, and timber, and more than 60 percent of Hungarian imports of rolled goods, ferrous alloys, artificial fertilizers, and cotton come from the Soviet Union.

USSR machinery and installations shipped to Hungary, and particularly Soviet technological collaboration in building and reconstructing industrial plants and other important projects, are very important to the Hungarian people's economy. During the years of the people's power, the Soviet Union participated in constructing and refurnishing 113 important industrial and other projects equipped with modern technology. The volume of this kind of technological cooperation in the present 5-year plan period exceeds R600 million. Soviet institutions participate in building, extending, and modernizing about 25 projects, among them the Paks Nuclear Power Works, the Duna Ferrous Metal Works, the Lenin Metallurgical Works, aluminum oxide producing works, coal mines, and other enterprises.

The Hungarian People's Republic, however, is a significant supplier of many goods that are important to the Soviet people's economy. As a result of its economic structure, Hungary at present is mainly supplying the Soviet Union with processing industry products and agricultural and food industry goods.

The Soviet Union buys 50 percent of the machinery and installations exported by Hungary. In several product categories, this proportion is considerably higher. For example, Hungary sells 70 percent of its export-oriented production of buses, floating and port cranes, ships, and food industry, refrigeration industry, and optical technology installations, automatic telephone exchanges, and means of telecommunication to the Soviet Union.

Hungary also exports a considerable amount of consumer goods (ready-made clothes, knitwear, footwear, pharmaceutical products, and so on); the Soviet purchases amount to 60 percent of these Hungarian exports. The Soviet Union is also a great buyer of Hungarian agricultural and food industry products. About 70 percent of Hungarian apples, and 60 percent of canned vegetable and fruit exports are shipped to the Soviet Union. All this contributes to enlarging the selection of goods on the Soviet domestic market and improving the Soviet people's supply of consumer goods.

Within the framework of the Soviet-Hungarian cooperation during the current 5-year plan, special place should be give to implementing economic cooperation decisions between the two countries, decisions that were made at the highest levels and aim at contributing to implementing the Hungarian economic stabilization program. This is where the first and really good results first emerged. Let me give a few examples.

In addition to the quantities stipulated in the long-term trade agreements for these years, we agreed to supply each other with extra goods worth R1.2 billion in the 1987-90 period. Goods worth R320-360 million from these are goods our countries originally intended to obtain from the West. An agreement was concluded on engaging the available part of the Hungarian agricultural machine-engineering capacity. Our work on implementing the agreements concluded at the highest levels continues.

We are paying great attention to developing direct contacts between the two countries' enterprises and institutes and establishing mixed enterprises, associations, and collectives. At present, such direct contacts exist between 122 Soviet and 122 Hungarian enterprises and organizations; in about 50 percent of them, the contacts aim at cooperation in production. This form of cooperation commands the greatest attention from the point of view of both countries.

Some eight mixed enterprises were established; four were established on Soviet territory. These enterprises produce medical instruments and electronic goods, make use of textile and chemical industry wastes in the spinning industry, produce shipment containers and packing materials, develop and produce modern technology power installations, prepare and service means of advertising, and sell Soviet-made tools including superhard and grinding materials in Hungary and on third markets.

Two joint economic associations were established on Soviet soil, one to mass-produce broiler chicken and the other to coordinate the cultivation of early-growing corn hybrids.

A Soviet-Hungarian intergovernmental committee, which in harmony with the resolutions of the 43d CEMA (irregular) conference, aims at promoting new forms of bilateral cooperation, appointed the competent organs of

the two countries to prepare as soon as possible their proposals on a procedure on the use of national currencies in settling accounts in the course of practicing these new forms of cooperation, and also their proposals on ways to regulate conditions on exchanging these currencies.

Bilateral technological and scientific cooperation in 1986-90 will aim at further accelerating scientific and technological development. We particularly emphasize our wish to develop and use new technical means and technologies which will enable both countries to considerably improve productivity and quality, increasingly save energy and materials, automatize production processes, and to widen and deepen Soviet-Hungarian economic relations on these bases. Within the framework of the cooperation, we are planning to develop 209 types of machines, installations, and tools, 80 technological processes, and 30 new materials.

The Soviet Union and Hungary accept an active role in implementing the complex CEMA Technological and Scientific Development Program Through the Year 2000. Soviet and Hungarian institutes participate in working out 87 out of the 94 subjects in the program. To promote the implementation of the program, 17 joint scientific collectives were established.

The results of Soviet-Hungarian economic, technological, and scientific cooperation are unquestionable. However, we have not yet made complete and sufficient use of the potentials inherent in a planned economy. The extensive methods of cooperation no longer suit the needs of either country.

In the spirit of the agreements concluded at the highest levels, perfecting bilateral cooperation and elevating it to the level of the current requirements is an ongoing process. In the meantime, we are paying particular attention to developing cooperation in production, cooperation that is based on direct relations primarily in science-intensive branches like microelectronics, robotics, and biotechnology. We have worked out a program to improve the technological standards and the quality of machine engineering products. The main economic authorities of both countries have been assigned the task of energetically at preparing the long-term plans of bilateral cooperation, plans which will then more fully contribute to satisfying the need of both countries for modern products and will widen their export opportunities.

The concepts of developing Soviet-Hungarian economic, technological, and scientific cooperation for the next 25-20 years will be prepared soon; in the next 5-year period. These concepts will be the basis on which the two countries will coordinate their plans.

By means of implementing the planned measures, we can take further steps toward deepening and widening our economic, technological, and scientific relations and fortifying the fraternal friendship between our peoples, which will contribute to more successfully accomplishing the tasks set by the 23d CPSU and 13th MSZMP Congresses.

### Katushev Present at Marjai's Moscow Departure

*LD281611 Budapest MTI in English 1504 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and minister of trade, Sunday returned to Budapest from Moscow, where he signed the 1988 Hungarian-Soviet goods turnover protocol. Jozsef Marjai was seen off in Moscow by Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations.

On arrival in Ferihegy Airport, Jozsef Marjai was met by Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

### Shalayev, Medvedev Meet Hungarian Union Chief

*PM261620 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Feb 88 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the AUCCTU"]

[Text] A meeting of the secretariats of the AUCCTU and the Hungarian National Trade Union Council (SZOT) took place in Moscow at the Palace of Labor 21-24 February. The Soviet delegation to the meeting was headed by S.A. Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman, and the Hungarian delegation by S. Gaspar, SZOT chairman. A friendly exchange of opinions took place on questions of the place and role of the Soviet and Hungarian trade unions at the present stage of socialist building and on topical problems of their activity.

The AUCCTU representatives briefed their Hungarian colleagues on the growth of the trade unions' role in resolving the tasks facing the Soviet people and on their participation in the process of restructuring all aspects of the country's public life in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 18th Trade Union Congress. Particular attention was devoted to the work of the labor collectives and trade union organizations in the conditions of full economic accountability, self-financing, and self-capitalization, the trade unions' contribution to the accelerated development of the social sphere, the restructuring of the trade unions' work, and the expansion of democracy and glasnost within the trade unions.

The SZOT delegation spoke of progress in fulfilling the tasks facing the Hungarian trade unions and shared their experience of participation in the implementation of the program of economic stabilization in the country and the resolution of the social problems of working people and individual categories of the population.

The meeting examined concrete questions of the practical activity of the Soviet and Hungarian trade unions, including their participation in the development of socialist self-management in the two countries, the improvement of the system of wages and social security for working people, the forming of policy in employment and pricing, and the stepping up of their activity in defending the working people's legitimate interests and developing new forms of economic and trade union collaboration involving direct ties between the labor collectives and the creation of joint enterprises and other forms of real contact between working people.

The participants in the meeting gave a positive assessment of the state and course of development of bilateral trade union ties and cooperation. At the same time the need was noted to further step up the effectiveness of these ties and enrich their content in accordance with the changes taking place in the domestic political life of the Soviet Union and Hungary and the two countries' collaboration within CEMA, as well as in the Soviet and Hungarian trade union movement.

The meeting reaffirmed the unity of the positions of the AUCCTU and SZOT on all the main problems of the international situation and the world trade union movement. The sides assessed highly the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and welcomed the Soviet Government's active steps to settle the Afghan problem. The AUCCTU and SZOT reaffirmed their desire to promote in every way the improvement of the activity of the WFTU and the strengthening of its prestige and influence in the world trade union movement.

During its stay in Moscow the Hungarian delegation visited the Salyut Sewn Goods Production Association, where it studied the work of the trade union organization and the labor collective in the conditions of the operation of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

The meeting of the AUCCTU and SZOT secretariats took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere, in the spirit of sincerity, confidence, and mutual understanding that characterizes relations between the two countries' trade unions.

The sides noted with satisfaction that the exchange of experience which took place at the meeting will help increase the effectiveness of Soviet-Hungarian trade union cooperation and strengthen friendly ties between the Soviet and Hungarian working people.

S. Gaspar, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and SZOT chairman, was received by V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary.

## CSSR Officials on Missile Withdrawal, INF

### Chnoupek on 'Goodwill'

*PM261159 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5*

["Our Interview" with CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek by unnamed "our correspondent" under the general heading "Last Post"; date and place not given]

[Text] "Soviet missiles appeared on CSSR territory with the agreement of our government as a response to U.S. actions. This was in the interests both of our own security and the security of other Warsaw Pact countries. The siting in West Europe of Pershing-2 missiles and cruise missiles has increased the dangerous potential of a NATO first strike.

"The conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and U.S. Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has created the possibility of withdrawing Soviet operational and tactical missiles from our territory. They have fulfilled their task....

"Regarding the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from our territory as an act of goodwill on the Soviet Union's part, its aim, undoubtedly, is to improve the international atmosphere. In addition, this is further proof of the USSR's willingness to honestly and consistently fulfill its commitments stemming from the treaties signed, even to fulfill them ahead of schedule. Now it is important that the process of ratification in the U.S. Senate is completed successfully.

"The withdrawal of nuclear missile weapons and their subsequent elimination together with other Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is a very significant event. It is a specific contribution to the cause of peace, a significant step in the implementation of a bold program to rid the planet of nuclear weapons before the end of the present century. M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 proposal was welcomed by the world's peace-loving forces as the most reliable guarantee of mankind's survival. This program, which we consider to be historic, meets with our complete support.

"It is symbolic that the beginning of the withdrawal of operational and tactical missiles comes at a time when we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the February victory of the Czechoslovak working people. The Czechoslovak public sincerely welcomes this and expresses the conviction that other important treaties in the sphere of disarmament will be reached which would rid mankind from the burden of heavy arms.

"The signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons has created a more favorable atmosphere in international relations which is essential to utilize for further dialogue in the disarmament sphere. This concerns, above all, the halving of arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons and the

banning of chemical weapons. Other urgent questions also remain to be resolved—reducing the level of conventional arms and banning underground nuclear tests.... "

### Foreign Ministry Spokesman

*LD261531 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Prague February 26 TASS—"The desire of some NATO circles to adopt new weapon systems can be described only as an attempt to depreciate the effect of the Soviet-American treaty that envisages the elimination of Euromissiles after its ratification", Dusan Rovensky, spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of Czechoslovakia, has said in an interview with the CTK news agency.

He pointed out that goodwill was necessary for the continuation of the disarmament process. The Soviet Government, on coordination with the Czechoslovak Government, decided to withdraw Soviet shorter-range missiles from Czechoslovak territory before the ratification of the Soviet-American treaty. This step promotes to a considerable extent the improvement of the international climate.

According to Dusan Rovensky, the term of "differentiated deterrence" that appeared in the U.S. strategy is the direct opposite to it. It contains elements running counter to the encouraging development of the world situation. Touching upon the planned transfer to Italy from Spain of 72 U.S. F-16 fighter planes, Rovensky emphasized that in this way they would be brought 2,000 km closer to the borders of the socialist community. These plans look suspicious. They indicate that NATO will do its utmost for compensating for the medium- and shorter-range misisles due to be eliminated with other, no less dangerous types of weapons.

### Zakharov Interviewed on CSSR Culture Cooperation

*LD282332 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Interview with Vasiliy Zakharov, USSR Minister of Culture,by unidentified reporter, "On the occasion of the days of Czechoslovak Culture in the Soviet Union"; interview conducted in Russian with Czech translation superimposed; no video available]

[Reporter] What are the experiences of the exchange of cultural values within the framework of the days of culture, which is a new concept?

[Zakharov] To be precise, the days of culture will last in our country until 4 April. There have appeared new aspects of cooperation, which will certainly have a future. I have in mind joint concerts and appearances of Soviet and Czechoslovak artists, which in such juxtaposition make it possible to discern better quality and [word indistinct]. Of course, one cannot deny the identity of a national culture, which is the decisive one, but in this instance one can talk about a certain integration of cultures.

[Reporter] At their recent meeting Comrades Gorbachev and Jakes discussed cooperation in the field of superstructure, specifically in the cultural sphere. What must be done, above all?

[Zakharov] In restructuring one must above all eliminate that which impedes the faster realization of good ideas, which here in the Soviet Union still is impeded frequently by insensitive bans, by some kind of attempt to tackle problems in an administrative way, to direct culture in an administrative way. We have found out that just as it is not possible to carry on in such a way in the economy, so it is not possible to continue like this in culture. The aspect of competition and diversity must prevail. It is also necessary to transfer many functions from state authorities direct to artists' unions. Artists' unions now have greater responsibility in parallel with state cultural institutions. No big problem is tackled without cooperation between them. Joint responsibility at the same level, such was the demand at the Congress of Soviet Dramatic Artists.

[Reporter] I would like to return to one of your ideas—one cannot direct by issuing bans; it is quality that prevails.

[Zakharov] When one compares good with something that is worse, the worse must always retreat and lose. I shall give you as an example rock music, about which it was claimed in the West until recently that it was banned in the Soviet Union. This was not true. It was played, for instance in students' halls. Now we have given it full scope, and people themselves can judge which rock music is good and which is bad. Only 2 years ago there were 70,000 rock groups in our country. Now only half of them are in existence. We did not ban them, of course. The bad ones simply disappeared from the scene, failed to find listening public, and could not withstand criticism. We organized a rock festival in Moscow. Anyone who wanted to could enter and show what he could do. Only half of the groups eventually stayed the course in the creative competition. Let good compete with the bad now, and may quality prevail. We are in favor of such a diversity in culture.

## West Europe

### Greeks 'Outraged' at Arrival of U.S. Ship

*LD261635 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Athens February 26 TASS—The Greek Government will study the circumstances of incidents which took place in the Greek port of Iraklion when a ship of the U.S. 6th Fleet dropped anchor there, official government spokesman Yannis Roubatis has said here.

The peace organizations of Iraklion held a demonstration at the port in protest against the Saturn's visit. The local people were outraged by the visit of the uninvited vessel which, the press reported, has brought arms for a U.S. military base near the port.

When demonstrators went onto the wharf, U.S. seamen from the Saturn began dousing them with water from hoses and hurling heavy objects at them. As a result, four persons were injured.

The impudent behavior of the U.S. naval personnel angered public opinion in Greece.

The Communist Party of Greece said in a statement published here today that the events at the Iraklion port were a flagrant challenge to the national independence and patriotic sentiments of the Greek people. The party demanded that the government take adequate measures in this connection.

It was announced here that the Saturn has now left the Greek port.

### Turkish Premier Meets With Ambassador Popov

*LD272121 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 20005 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Ankara, 27 Feb (TASS)—Turkish Prime Minister T. Ozal today received Ambassador V.I. Popov, special representative of the Soviet leadership, who gave him an oral message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, concerning Afghanistan.

During the conversation, T. Ozal said that the Soviet Union has taken a sensible and wise decision on settling the Afghan problem and that Turkey awaits the signing of the Geneva agreements very soon. In Turkey's view, a successful peace settlement would serve as a sort of impulse to reduce the scale of other regional conflicts in the Asian Continent. He agreed that the points of view of the USSR and Turkey on the Afghan issue are very similar.

### FRG's Genscher Cited on Arms Control

*LD282011 Moscow TASS in English 1941 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Bonn February 28 TASS—The FRG's Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed hope that an accord on a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States would be reached during the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States.

Speaking at a meeting of the board of the Free Democratic Party in Stuttgart (Baden-Wuerttemberg) on Saturday, Hans-Dietrich Genscher also emphasized the need for a reduction in the conventional arms and armed forces of East and West down to a level which would ensure the necessary defence of the two sides and would make it impossible for them to launch an unexpected attack upon each other.

In this connection the FRG's minister of foreign affairs pointed out that the West's specific proposals on the problem of disarmament in the field of conventional arms should be worked out at the NATO Council's forthcoming session in Brussels without fail.

### Religious Affairs Official on Vatican Relations

*PM251046 Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Feb 88 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "The Pope Has Not Asked To Come Here"]

[Text] Is there any possibility of the pope visiting the USSR for the millenium of Christianity in Russia? This is the answer we were given by Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Soviet Government's Council of Religious Affairs.

"Usually, when you invite somebody to visit you, he is somebody nice, somebody who recognizes that you are master of the house. However, the pope's policy has long been tainted with anti-Sovietism. And it still is.

"There are two levels in our relations with the pope: the state and the church. It is up to the church to invite him, and then it is up to the state to give its agreement. Similarly, if you invite a friend to visit you in the USSR, the state decides whether or not to grant him a visa. To the best of my knowledge, the pope has not made an official application to come here.

"We want to improve our relations with the Vatican, with which we do not have diplomatic relations, but all speculations about a visit to the USSR by the pope harm that improvement. They are turning it into an increasingly political issue.

"We value the pope's religious activity, and his latest statement in favor of the peace struggle, and we respect him as head of the Catholic Church. We do not criticize him in the press, but he has great political potential. For instance, I am thinking about the so-called Ukrainian Catholic Church, which willingly joined the Orthodox Church. This presents a problem in relations between the Vatican and the Russian Orthodox patriarchate.

"The pope's clumsy efforts do not help mutual understanding. The pope would like to use this Ukrainian Church for his own ends, and the Vatican is now raising the question of recognition for the 'Ukrainian Catholic Church.' Why not raise the question of recognition for the Constitutional Democrats Party? (Footnote) (The KD (constitutional democrats) was a prerevolutionary movement that advocated establishing a constitutional monarchy). The Ukrainian Church dirtied its hands

collaborating with the fascists. If you are a Catholic here, you can go to the Catholic Church; nothing prevents you from doing so; that church exists in the USSR."

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Further Reportage on Panamanian Situation

#### U.S. Troops on 'High Alert'

*LD262008 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] New York February 26 TASS—The ASSOCIATED PRESS reported that the Pentagon put on a high alert the U.S. troops stationed in the Panamanian territory. In an interview to journalists, Commander-in-chief of the Panamanian National Defence Forces General Manuel Noriega did not preclude the possibility of the United States armed interference in Panama, the ASSOCIATED PRESS writes.

#### U.S. 'Invasion' Planned

*LD271737 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Madrid February 27 TASS—Brigadier General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of Panama's National Defence Forces, has exposed the aggressive plans of the United States with regard to the Republic.

"Preparation for a large-scale invasion is under way to impose upon us a government which would uphold U.S. interests", General Noriega stated in an inteview with the Spanish newspaper INDEPENDENTE.

The United States is unwilling to implement the Panama Canal treaties which envisage the transfer of the inter-ocean waterway to the country's jurisdiction by the year 2000, and seeks to keep its military presence on Panamanan soil, the general stated. For these purposes the Central Intelligence Agency tries to bring about a split in the ranks of the armed forces, to provoke street riots, to set up an extensive network of agents inside Panama, and to undermine the Republic's economy.

#### Pentagon Cited on 'Disaster'

*LD281244 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] New York February 28 TASS—Panama's ousted President Eric Arturo Delvalle is expected to make a statement in a few hours, UPI has reported, citing an unnamed administration official.

The news agency said Delvalle's whereabouts were being kept secret.

THE NEW YORK TIMES said soldiers who came to the Delvalle home on February 27 to arrest him found that he had escaped at night.

Delvalle is said to be hiding in the capital or somewhere near. The newspaper said his relatives had taken refuge in the residence of American Ambassador Arthur H. Davis.

"As Panama's leader, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega continued to hold the reins of power in his country; Reagan administration officials said that the United States has little leverage to force him from power," THE NEW YORK TIMES said.

Pentagon officials voice the same opinion. It's an unavoidable disaster, but nobody is happy with the turn of events," a senior Pentagon official said, as quoted by the newspaper.

It said that several months ago the U.S. had suspended economic and military aid to Panama and that Washington's next moves and its long-term strategy remained unclear.

Two days ago, Panama's legislative assembly (one-chamber parliament) removed President Delvalle from office at an emergency session. The action was by unanimous vote of the 38 members of the 67-seat assembly in attendance.

The assembly said Delvalle did not follow constitutional procedures in ordering Gen. Noriega to step down as head of the Defence Forces.

Prior to that, Noriega had bitterly criticized the United States for its attempts to deny Panama independence in foreign policy issues, specifically to force it out of the search for ways toward a peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America and to try to keep the Panama Canal under U.S. control beyond the year 2000.

#### 'Crisis' Caused From Outside

*LD282124 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Washington is trying to put pressure on Panama through the OAS, in connection with the decision of the country's legislative assembly which deposed President Delvalle. The assembly's decison was made on the basis of the president's intention to remove General Noriega, the commander in chief of the National Defense Forces, which the legislators regarded as a violation of the country's Constitution. The OAS permanent council, which convened in Washington, refused to pass a resolution against Panama despite Washington's pressure. Commentator Vyacheslav Levrentyev is at the microphone:

[Lavrentyev] It is obvious to many observers that the political crisis in Panama has been caused from outside and that it is directed against Gen Noriega. A malicious campaign against him has been conducted by the press, especially the U.S. press, since last June. The general is

accused of complicity in rigging elections, drug trafficking, and supplying arms to Salvadoran rebels. Washington directs this campaign. Noriega's resolve that the U.S.-Panamanian Canal treaty should be completely fulfilled and his support for a peaceful settlement of the problems concerning Nicaragua is not to the U.S. Administration's liking.

The real cause of the current attacks on the general becomes even more obvious if you recall that way back in 1972, when Noriega was a colonel in the headquarters of Panamanian intelligence, he was on the list of people not to Washington's liking. The U.S. magazine NEW YORKER has recently quoted excerpts from a secret memorandum, compiled under the Nixon administration.

It recommends, and I quote, to put a halt once and for all to Noriega's activities. In other words, the advice given is to eliminate him. As is said on such occasions, there is no need to comment on this.

## U.S. 'Campaign' Viewed

*LD272115 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik writes:

One item was obviously drowned in the stream of reports from Panama indundating the U.S. press. The news item had it that a State Department spokesman had said in answer to journalists' questions that, according to the data of the U.S. Embassy in Panama, the situation there remained calm, that the Americans there were safe, and that traffic through the Panama Canal continued unimpededly.

Meanwhile Washington's all possible extreme reprisals against Panama were already being discussed in detail at a session of the U.S. National Security Council: a military intervention, sanctions, and a trade embargo.

U.S. Vice President George Bush who is now conducting an election campaign in southern states, has said the USA reserves the right to take all measures it deems necessary, including the use of military force, to defend the sacred interests of Americans in that part of the world.

Although the U.S. President hurried to refute speculations that a military intervention is being prepared, who knows what turn the developments will take.

Only recently Reagan denied any U.S. role in the intention of yesterday's Panamanian President Devalle to dismiss General Noriega from the post of the commander in chief of the National Defence Forces of Panama. Later on, a CBS correspondent at the White House admitted that Reagan administration spokesmen left no doubt that the USA knew about such plans. There were calls on the Capitol Hill to intensify pressure on Penama with a view to making Noriega step down.

The anchorman of the French Antenne-2 TV programme pointed out, for his part, that "Washington wants to get rid of the general today as well".

Why does not Brigadier General Manuel Antonio Noriega suit the powerful northern neighbour of Panama? In answer to this question it would be more accurate to say that Washington does not like the stance of the Noriega-headed army which in Panama is traditionally progressive- and nationalist-minded, is prone to anti-American sentiments, and comes out in favour of strengthening the Republic's sovereignty which the White House continuously encroaches upon.

Not far off is the year 2000 when the Panama Canal, in accordance with the already-signed Panamanian-U.S. Panama Canal treaty, should be returned to its legitimate owners and the canal zone should be freed from U.S. military presence.

But the canal and the canal zone are the key to two oceans at once. Turning the pages of today's American newspapers, it is not difficult to understand why the patriotic position of the Panamanian military does not suit Washington and why the United States is prepared to give much to keep the Panamanian territory under its control. The canal accounts for more than 40 percent of transportation between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts of the United States. Ten thousand American servicemen and 20,000 members of their families permanently stay within the canal zone. From the territory of that country Washington implements its policy with regard to Latin America.

An NBC correspondent in a reportage from the Pentagon has pointed out that Panama is being used by the Americans as a post to listen in to the entire Central America. Almost daily U.S. spy planes take off from Panamanian territory and fly over Nicaragua, intercepting radio messages and taking photo pictures. So, American stakes in Panama are very high.

This is why Noriega who, in the opinion of the French LE MONDE "not without success launched a national campaign against the United States, accusing it of interfering in the internal affairs of his country and of a desire to jeopardise again the process of bringing the inter-American canal back to full jurisdiction of Panama, has become an unwelcome person to Washington".

This is why the British THE TIMES writes that there is opinion among Panamanians that the current political crisis in the country will be resolved not by internal means but through actions on the part of the United States.

"Washington has already launched psychological warfare against Panama, and a large-scale campaign of lies and disinformation against it", stated General Noriega, commander-in chief of the National Defence Forces of Panama. "If the United States unleashes an aggression against our country, it will encounter people who are ready to defend their dignity and sovereignty".

## Dobrynin, Medvedev Attend Havana Conference

### Seen Off by Baklanov, Others

*LD281845 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrades Dobrynin and Medvedev left Moscow today for Havana and a conference of international affairs secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. At the airport they were seen off by Comrades Baklanov and Kapitonov and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee. [video shows Kapitnov, Dobrynin, Baklanov, and Medvedev emerge from the terminal buildings at the airport, closely followed by several unidentified figures. The four named men shake hands; Medvedev and Dobrynin mount the steps to the aircraft and turn to wave]

### Greeted in Havana

*LD290704 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0642 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Havana, 29 Feb (TASS)—Anatoliy Dobrynin and Vadim Medvedev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, have arrived in the Cuban capital. They will be taking part in the conference of secretaries of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries on international issues opening here today.

At Jose Marti International Airport, they were met by Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee; Julio Camacho, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and ambassador of Cuba to the USSR; Lionel Soto and Carlos Aldana, members of the Secretariat of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee; and other officials. Among the welcoming party was A.S. Kapto, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Cuba.

## UK's Falkland Islands 'Muscle Flexing' Previewed

*LD251753 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 25 Feb 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires February 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Kolesnikov reports:

London's intention to hold large-scale military exercises in the area of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in the period of March 7 to 31 has given rise to a wave of indignation in Latin America.

The governments of a number of countries of the region emphasize in their statements that this step is a gross challenge not only to Argentina, with which Britain has long been disputing sovereignty over the archipelago, but also to the whole of Latin America. The British decision to hold the exercises also runs counter to the call issued by the United Nations Organization to make the south Atlantic a zone of peace and cooperation.

Six years have passed since the time when the British expeditionary corps seized the archipelago, restoring its colonial status. Over the period, a large military base fitted out with rocket launchers, radar stations, and anti-aircraft batteries have been set up there. An airfield capable of receiving fighter bombers with nuclear weapons on board as well as wide-body military transportation planes has been built on the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

Five thousand British servicemen, several operational groups of fighter planes, helicopters, tanks and other combat hardware are to be brought to the archipelago during the planned exercises. The purpose of this "muscle flexing" is to test the traffic capacity of the new airfield, and to try out the details of a prompt airlifting of big contingents of troops to the islands "in an emergency".

The constitutional government of Argentina has repeatedly stated that it does not intend to use force in a solution to the dispute with Britain on the sovereignty over the archipelago. The Argentine Government urges London to sit down at the negotiating table and to try, as the United Nations Organization calls for, to find peaceful ways to overcome the complex situation. Despite this, the British Defence Ministry argues in justification of the decision to hold the exercises that Argentina up to now has not ostensibly announced "cessation of hostilities" against Britain and that therefore an Argentine military invasion threat should not be ruled out.

The announcement of the forthcoming exercises coincided with another event which became a reminder of Washington's unseemly role in the period of war in the south Atlantic: A ceremony to present an award to former U.S. secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger took place in London. The award was conferred upon him for "invaluable contribution" to Anglo-American defense cooperation, and for his "unfailing support and assistance" during the 1982 Falkland Islands war between Britain and Argentina.

### Latin Reaction Noted

*LD261953 Moscow TASS in English 1226 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires February 26 TASS—The heads of diplomatic missions of NATO countries in Argentina were summoned to the Republic's Ministry of Foreign

Affairs where notes of the Argentine Government were delivered to them in connection with Britain's intention to hold large-scale military exercises on the Falklands (Malvinas) Islands.

A spokesman for the Argentine Foreign Ministry said the foreign diplomats had been informed of Argentina's stand with regard to London's actions.

Jose Horacio Jaunarena, Argentine minister of national defence, condemned Britain's decision to hold military exercises on the Falklands. He pointed out that the decision would lead to an aggravation of the situation in the South Atlantic.

The Argentine Government, the minister said, called on international organizations to condemn the actions of Britain which tries to torpedo any talks on a settlement of the Anglo-Argentine conflict.

Bogota February 26 TASS—The ministers of foreign affairs of eight Latin American countries, which are members of the Contadora Group and the Support Group, have urged the British Government to cancel the decision on holding exercises on the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands and to resume talks with Argentina with a view to bringing about a peaceful settlement of the contentious issue concerning the sovereignty over the archipelago.

At the current meeting in the Colombian city of Cartagena, the Latin American foreign ministers adopted a communique expressing 'deep concern' over Britain's decision. The ministers of foreign affairs of Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Peru emphasized that London's actions would lead to an increased tension in the South Atlantic which in the resolution of the 41st session of the United Nations General Assembly has been declared 'a zone of peace and cooperation'.

Madrid February 26 TASS—The planned military exercises in the south Atlantic will not promote the establishment of an atmosphere of peace there, stated Joan Baena Soares, secretary-general of the Organization of American States (OAS).

In an interview with the EFE news agency he said that a meeting of the OAS Permanent Council will be convened on March 1 at the request of Argentina which is protesting against the planned British military exercises on th Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

### Kolesnikov Comments

*LD291113 Moscow TASS in English 1010 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Buenos Aires February 29 TASS—TASS correspondent O. Kolesnikov reports:

Only recently, British officials hypocritically expressed "bewilderment" over stormy protests in Latin America against London's intention to conduct large-scale military manoeuvres in south Atlantic early in March. Today, slightly more than a week from the beginning of the "Muscle Show" in the area of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, this "bewilderment" gave way to open cynicism.

The Argentine newspaper CLARIN writes that a top British official said in plain terms: Certainly, we knew that Argentina would raise noise and Latin American countries would make statements on solidarity with it. But we should demonstrate that if need be we can reinforce our forces in the Falklands. We will hold the manoeuvres.

It could hardly be possible to describe better the official policy of the Thatcher conservative government on this problem. The dispute on the sovereignty over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, which has been going on since the middle of last century, is known to have outgrown into the British-Argentine armed conflict in 1982. With U.S. vigorous support, Britain inflicted defeat on Argentina, restoring by force the colonial status of this small territory which is located almost 13,000 kilometers away from British shores.

The constitutional government of President Raul Alfonsin, which came to power in 1983, at once proposed to London starting peace negotiations on settling the problem. In response to this proposal London moved to build a large British military base on the islands. Simultaneously, Britain ignores the repeated calls by the United Nations Organisation to both countries to find a political solution to the contentious issues. Only recently, the U.S. General Assembly adopted a resolution proclaiming south Atlantic a zone of peace and cooperation. However, by getting down to preparations for the large-scale manoeuvres, to take place in that region on March 7-31, Britain makes it clear unambiguously that it is set to preserve at whatever cost its military presence in south Atlantic.

If one is to believe the statements by U.S. officials who have visited Buenos Aires lately, Washington and its NATO partners were allegedly not informed by Britain about the upcoming manoeuvres. One can hardly believe in this, since it is common knowledge that Britain and the United States have close ties, the Argentine newspaper PAGINA 12 writes.

To this one can only add that six years ago, when the British-Argentine military conflict was in full force, the United States gave preference to its key ally in NATO by betraying Argentina and other Latin American countries with which it is bound by the Treaty on the Joint Defence of the Western Hemisphere, which was imposed

by Washington itself at one time. Even military specialists hold that without the U.S. assistance it would have been by far more difficult for Britain to inflict military defeat on Argentina as well as to conduct combat operations in general.

## Political & Social

### More on Gorbachev Message to Armenians

#### Comparison of Gorbachev Message

Yerevan International Service in Armenian at 2130 GMT on 26 February broadcasts a report on General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's address to Armenia and Azerbaijan. This report has been compared to the Yerevan Domestic Russian version published in the 26 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 42-43, revealing the following variations:

Page 43, paragraph one, sentence one, the Yerevan Armenian version reads ...great Armenian poet Charents, addressing Soviet Azerbaijan... (changing name)

Same sentence, reads ...the name of victories we have scored together, in the name of friendly... (rewording, clearing indistinct words)

Same paragraph, sentence two, the Yerevan Armenian version reads ...we live not only as neighbors but... (adding word)

Same sentence, reads ...the hearth and their daily bread.... (clearing indistinct words)

#### Armenians Ignore Gorbachev

*AU261955 Paris AFP in English 1939 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow, Feb 26 (AFP)—Hundreds of thousands of nationalists demonstrated on Friday in the Armenian capital Yerevan, ignoring a personal call for calm by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, a dissident spokesman at the scene said.

Striking demonstrators also booed and jeered the Armenian Communist Party leader when he told them to go back to work after Mr. Gorbachev's appeal, said dissident Sergey Grigoryants, who was contacted by telephone.

He said that the committee which organized the demonstrations had tried unsuccessfully to call a halt following Mr. Gorbachev's statement. They said that the "immense" gains of the past week should be consolidated, and that the authorities would not act if kept under pressure.

However, the demonstrators had rejected the appeal, he said.

Armenian nationalists have gathered at a main square in the pink-stone city for a week, calling for the restitution of the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, ceded to neighbouring Azerbaijan under Stalin.

In a message read on Armenian radio and television at midday by Kremlin envoys, Mr. Gorbachev had asked the nationalists to "show civic maturity and restraint" until the authorities could study their demands.

"To stir up quarrels and mistrust among peoples can only stand in the way of a solution of the problems," Mr. Gorbachev added.

Mr. Gorbachev promised to set up a commission to look into the nationalist demands pending a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on the issue, Mr. Grigoryants said.

After the broadcast, Armenian Communist Party First Secretary Karen Demirchyan called on the nationalists to trust him and end a four-day-strike.

"Who is going to pay you for the strike?" Mr. Demirchyan reportedly asked, amidst jeers and catcalls.

Mr. Grigoryants added that 28 military aircraft had been seen landing at Yerevan airport on Thursday night, carrying troops from other Soviet republics.

These soldiers were reported Friday to have taken positions at the airport, the radio and TV station, the post office, and other strategic points.

Armenian militiamen (police) in the city centre had been replaced by Soviet forces, but there had been no incidents, Mr. Grigoryants said.

"For a week, Armenians have been experimenting with a freedom unknown to the Soviet people," he added.

Members of the Kurdish minority propulation and even foreign students had joined more than a million demonstrators from all over Armenia, according to Mr. Grigoryants.

Armenian intellectuals had announced the beginning of a hunger strike, while soldiers who had served in the Soviet forces in Afghanistan had threatened to throw in their medals if demands for a meeting of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia were not met, Mr. Grigoryants said.

On Tuesday, Moscow turned down the Armenian nationalist demands, saying that the return of the mainly-Christian Nagorno-Karabakh region would "be against the interests" of both Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Armenians arriving in Moscow on Thursday said that up to half a million people had demonstrated in the Armenian capital, Yerevan, that day. Similar demonstrations on previous days reportedly gathered up to 200,000 people.

The Soviet Deputy Prosecutor-General, Alexander Katusev, was meanwhile in Nagorno-Karabakh, where it was rumoured that several Armenians had been killed in fighting between ethnic Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

Mr. Katusev, in a TASS news agency report on Friday, denied that any Armenians had been killed.

But dissident sources in Moscow said that Politburo member Vladimir Dolgikh had said on Armenian television on Wednesday that there had been "casualties".

Mr. Dolgikh is one of four top Soviet officials who flew to Armenia early this week as demonstrations increased. Dissident sources said he had virtually taken over party action aimed at normalising the situation.

### TASS Reports Reaction

*LD262249 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Interviews by TASS correspondents show how [CPSU General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's] address was received in the Azerbaijani and the Armenian Soviet Socialist republics.

Arutyunova, radio set assembly worker at the Baku "Geofrizpribor" production association: By nationality I am an Armenian woman and take pride in the fact that I belong to one of the fraternal peoples of the USSR, where all people, irrespective of features arising from their nationality, have equal rights and opportunities. Is not the fact that I am a member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee an indication of this? People of different nationalities work in the collective where I work and we have never differentiated between Azerbaijanis and Armenians, between Russians and Georgians: everyone is rewarded according to what is for us today the only distinguishing feature—according to his labor. Today we are all engaged in a single great cause, the cause of restructuring, upon the success of which depends the fate of every nation and every ethnic group in our country, of every family, and of every person. As a woman I cannot agree to our children being threatened by national feuding. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stated it correctly in his address to the working people of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The solution of such questions cannot be placed at the mercy of spontaneity and emotion. One cannot permit even the slightest damage to the internationalist cohesion of our peoples. Today all of us have to display maximum good sense and calm, maximum restraint and discipline.

Petrosyan, member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, leader of a team of workers at the Nairit Scientific and Production Association, said: As a working man I would like to look at the events taking place in the republic from the viewpoint of a production worker. Over the past few days a number of industrial enterprises in the city of Yerevan have risen to fever pitch because people have left their workplaces and have taken part in demonstrations and meetings in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh. This circumstance cannot fail to cause alarm, for fulfilment of the plan targets—and consequently the implementation of the program for the republic's social development—have been threatened. We are faced with large-scale tasks. This year many of Armenia's enterprises have started to work under the new economic conditions. Spontaneity of this kind is capable of leading to lamentable results, and it will be difficult to make up for the lost time. That is why we receive with approval Comrade Gorbachev's address. This is the way one has to speak to the people: give them frankly objective information with profound political general conclusions. I think every word and idea in this address will help to stablize the situation in our republics in the name of the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy and in the name of the ideas of restructuring.

Akopdzhanyan, a woman worker at the Shusha oriental musical instruments factory in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, said in conversation with a TASS correspondent: In Shusha, where I was born, Azerbaijanis and Armenians have been living together from the beginning of time. Children from our families communicate with each other in three languages, and if they were suddenly to stop speaking in just one of them it would mean that we had ceased to understand the main thing, the language of our socialist internationalism.

The point of Lenin's nationalities policy, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted in his appeal, is that every person and every nation should be able to develop freely and every people should be able to satisfy its needs in all spheres of public and political life, in its mother tongue, culture, customs, and religious beliefs. These words are very close to my own sentiments. I believe that the tense situation that has come about in our autonomous oblast won't be able to shake the friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples.

Musayev, [member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee] leader of a multiskilled team of foundry men at the Baku ("Kuntyan") machine-building works, said: The events that have taken place in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have disturbed all of our multinational collective. Amongst us are Russians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and Georgians. We are used to the idea that we have always been linked by common interests. We have jointly surmounted difficulties; we have grieved together at our failures and together rejoiced at our successes. This is what we thought about when we listened to Comrade Gorbachev's appeal. Our sentiments are fully shared by all members of the team, including the Armenians, Nikolay (Parkharov) and Yuriy Atarov.

We all view the position of the CPSU Central Committee on this matter with profound understanding and approval; we shall draw the appropriate conclusions for

ourselves, show political maturity and work even more energetically for restructuring in the name of the revolutionary renewal of our society. Let us ponder why this should have happened. Is it not because we for too long behaved complacently, failing to give due attention to the nationalities question and internationalist education or to take into account in our work the psychology and interests of different nations? Placing my hand on my heart, I must admit as a deputy of the republican Supreme Soviet and member of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee that, yes, we lost sight of a lot of things. We must obviously make a greater effort to ensure that the ideas of internationalism reach the hearts and minds of all; that no dubious arguments are able to disturb the stability of our great gain: the fraternal friendship of the Soviet peoples.

Kaplanyan, people's artist of the USSR, chairman of the board of the Armenian Union of Theatrical Workers, said: All our history and achievements are evidence of the fact that in the fraternal family of the peoples of the USSR every republic was given the opportunity to develop harmoniously. This does not mean, however, that all problems have been solved. As the appeal of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee rightly says, not a few shortcomings and difficulties have accumulated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The current events have shown that to solve a number of problems that we inherited from the past, a concrete, integrated approach is needed, and this includes our approach to questions related to the mutual enrichment of cultures. So let us put to one side the heated arguments and discussions and get down to business.

## More Reactions Cited

*LD271852 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] The workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia received Comrade Gorbachev's address related to the events in Nagorno-Karabakh with deep interest. Baku is on the line. Pyusta Azizovna Azizbekova, academician of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, is at the microphone.

[Begin recording] [Azizbekova] All of us, the workers of Azerbaijan or Armenia, are worried over one event: I mean the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. For us, the workers of Azerbaijan and Armenia, who are linked by age-old friendship and fraternity, and for whom the land of our fathers and forefathers has always been a land of friendship, fraternity, and harvest providing us with our common bread (?the question was posed) as to where Nagorno-Karabakh should be: in Azerbaijan or Armenia. On the whole, for honest internationalists and honest working masses this was a superfluous question. We workers of Armenia and Azerbaijan are deeply touched by the address by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to us, the working masses of Armenia and Azerbaijan, by his confidence in saying that—I am addressing you, comrades, your consciousness and responsibility, and your common sense—let us once again in this trial stand up for our Soviet internationalism and our unshakable conviction that only in the friendly family of all our peoples can we ensure progress of our society, and prosperity for all its citizens. [end recording]

Now over to Kurdish writer (Ashot Vavire):

[Begin (Vavire) recording] Kurdish and Soviet writers of Armenia have received with satisfaction the address by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. He stated that we are not in favor of avoiding an open discussion of various ideas and proposals. But this must be done calmly within the framework of the democratic process and legality without inflicting any damage whatsoever on the interests of the internationalist cohesion of our peoples. These words draw special attention. We also unanimously approve of the decision adopted by the Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee which took place on 26 February. Setting up a CPSU Central Committee commission on Karabakh is being awaited with impatience not only by all Armenians but also by my Kurdish compatriots who live in Soviet Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. [end recording]

## TASS Cites Public Comments

*LD271950 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—An appeal of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with the developments in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous district (the Soviet transcaucasian region) and around it has been met with understanding in those republics.

Follow some of the comments transmitted from Baku and Yerevan by TASS correspondents:

A. Amanov, a drilling rig operator, said that the appeal for a sober assessment of the existing situation had been unanimously approved by the oilmen. "Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Russians, Ukrainians and people of other nationalities are working here shoulder to shoulder. We live and work as a single family, we share with each other our joys and concerns and are doing our best for promoting the revolutionary transformations now under way in the country. Our greatest gain, friendship among the nations and nationalities living in this country, is equally dear to us all", he said.

"Hot temper is a bad adviser in the solution of any problem. Mikhail Gorbachev put it most accurately in his appeal. A calm and wise tone of the appeal is a lesson

to us all. We Soviet people have common history, common motherland, and each of us should be worthy of it", said G. Stepanyan, a teacher.

"I am an Armenian, and I was grieved to hear about the developments in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous district. They are beyond the understanding of our labor collective which is made up of people of 18 nationalities. Relations of friendship and comradely assistance, an atmosphere of internationalism have long become a norm with us. We all firmly believe in the inviolability of unity of our fraternal nations. My family is international by its character. My grandmother was a Georgian. My sister is married to an Azerbaijanian and my brother's wife is Russian. We are a united family because we respect traditions of each of the nations and educate our children in this spirit", said R. Pogosova, secretary of the party committee of an oil refinery.

"It was very painful for me to learn about the developments in the Nagorno-Karabakh district, my birthplace", said S. Aleskerov, and Azerbaijanian composer. "In my native Shusha which has long been called the 'conservatoire of the Orient' Azerbaijanians and Armenians have always been educated in the same cultural and artistic traditions. We learned the art of fraternity and good neighbourliness since early childhood, it is in our blood. I share with all my heart the idea expressed by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee that genuine fraternity and the unity of nations is the way for us. No one will turn us off that path".

## Yerevan Workers Welcome Address

*LD272003 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1809 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The traditions of friendship between the peoples must be cherished and reinforced in every way. This thought is stressed in interviews given by the working people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's to television and TASS correspondents:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Nazaryan, identified by screen caption] Despite the fact that it is Saturday, all enterprises in Yerevan were working today. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's appeal for civic maturity and restraint, and to once again return to normal life and work touched everyone's heart. People want to make up what has been lost and get into a normal work rhythm. The workers at the Gidroprivod production association also took up their tools today as one man. During the lunch break crowded meetings were held in the enterprise's shops and the participants reacted to the words of the [Gorbachev] address and the results of the extraordinary plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee with gratitude, understanding, and hope. [video shows workers in a factory]

[Lathe operator E.A. Oganesyan, identified by screen caption] The address by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has not left us indifferent. Mikhail Sergeyevich was very correct in saying that this is not the kind of issue that can be solved in the heat of passions, but in a calm and sober frame of mind. We do not want national enmity with the Azerbaijanis. We are neighbors, we have always been neighbors, and we want our neighborly feelings to remain immemorial. [end recording]

["Vremya" newsreader] In an interview with a TASS correspondent, Comrade Amanov, Hero of Socialist Labor and drilling foreman at the Ali-Bairamly drilling work directorate of the Azerbaijani SSR, said: Shirvan drillers are profoundly concerned over the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The appeal for reason and for a sober assessment of the existing situation contained in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia has met with the unanimous approval of our collective. Azerbaijanis and Armenians, Russians and Ukrainians, and representatives of many other nationalities work shoulder to shoulder here, and we all hold equally dear our greatest gain—the life-giving friendship between the Soviet peoples. The hour of reason and sober decisions has come. The awareness, responsibility, and prudence characteristic of Soviet people will triumph.

Comrade Mezhlumyan, a student from Yerevan University said: It was with great emotion that I heard Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address. It is full of concern for preserving our most valuable property—the friendship between the Soviet peoples. For a whole week the republic's work rhythm has been disrupted and lessons in higher educational establishments were broken off. The events which have taken place in Yerevan are a lesson for young people. They have shown that the Komsomol must radically restructure its work instead of going in for empty repetition of truisms and organizing various kinds of standard events which provide little benefit. [video shows worker speaking to correspondent in Leytnant Shmidta machine-building works, as captioned]

Suzhayev, Sergey Nersesevich. I have been working in this factory for 40 years. I am the team leader of a milling group. We here in Azerbaijan, in the city of Baku—a multinational city—live in a very friendly way with one another. We work side by side and help one another. Working together with me on equal terms are Azerbaijani, Russian, Jewish, and Armenian comrades, and there are not differences between us. I think that we have to get all this off our chests and get back to work again, to working in a friendly and calm way, and to treat each other well. I think that the friendship between the Soviet peoples should be supported by our party and government and will continue as before.

## More Workers' Support

*LD272109 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS)—The meaning of the Leninist nationalities policy is that each person and each nation should be able to develop freely, that each people should be able to satisfy its needs in all spheres of social and political life, in its own language and culture, says M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his message to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with the events in Nogorno-Karabakh (Transcaucasus) and the surrounding area. We must cherish the traditions of friendship among peoples and do everything to develop them: This is the thought emphasized by working people of the Azerbaijani and Armenian SSR's in interviews with journalists. TASS correspondents report workers' statements from Baku and Yerevan:

A. Amanov, drilling foreman, of Ali-Bayramly Drilling Works Directorate, Hero of Socialist Labor (Azerbaijani SSR):

"The drillers of Shirvan are deeply worried by the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The call to use common sense and soberly assess the situation, which was voiced in M.S. Gorbachev's message to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, has met with unanimous approval in our collective.

Where we are, Azerbaijanis and Armenians, Russians and Ukrainians, and representatives of many other nationalities work shoulder-to-shoulder. We all live and work in a single fraternal family. We share our concerns and our joys equally, we struggle against difficulties and we try to participate more actively in the revolutionary transformations that are taking place in the country. Our greatest gain, the life-giving friendship of the Soviet peoples, is equally dear to all of us.

The hour of reason and sober decisions has come. The awareness, responsibility, and good sense that are characteristic of Soviet people, will triumph.

G. Stepanyan, merited teacher of the Armenian SSR:

In my time I have had occasion to see a great deal that is disturbing and a great deal that is joyful, to experience grief and insult. But in my pupils I have always tried to instill an optimistic confidence that in the end the logic of life wins and reason triumphs. Today, therefore, I want to tell our young people that they must not get excited, for passion is a poor counsellor when any issues are being decided. This is stated very well in M.S. Gorbachev's address, which stresses that the frank discussion of different ideas and proposals has to be conducted calmly and within a framework of the democratic process and legality. The calm and wise tone of this document is a lesson for us all.

We Soviet people have a common history, a common homeland, and it is the business of each one of us to be worthy of it.

R. Pogosova, secretary of the party committee for the oil-refinery named after A.G. Karayev in the Azerbaijan SSR:

As an Armenian by nationality it was painful for me to learn of events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. This is incomprehensible for our collective, in which representatives of eighteen nationalities work side-by-side. For all of us, relations of friendship and comradely mutual assistance and an atmosphere of internationalism long ago became the norm. All of us believe strongly in the inviolability of the unity of our fraternal peoples.

Our workers' rayon of Baku bears the name of S. Shaumyan, that glorious son of the Armenian and Azerbaijanian peoples. Here I grew up and received my passport into life at large. With all my heart I am attached to workers of the widest variety of nationalities who are working in the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. To them I owe the fact that today I am a deputy of the Baku City Soviet. My family, too, is internationalist in its composition. My grandmother was a Georgian, my sister is married to an Azerbaijani, and my brother is married to a Russian. We live in harmony, honoring and respecting the traditions of every nation and developing these feelings in our children, too.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was right when he said in his address to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia that today it is important for us to view our troubles while taking into account the processes of revolutionary renewal underway in our country. We must now make every possible effort to find an honorable way out of the situation that has arisen and to assert our Soviet way of life and the undestructable friendship between our peoples at this testing time.

L. Ovsepyan, mother of three (the Armenian SSR):

Maternal happiness is a great joy for a woman. I have adopted three children. Although they were born thousands of miles away from Yerevan, it has become their hometown. It is not only my native town that my little ones have acquired, but also my native tongue, the tongue of my people. When I think about the future of my internationalist family, I look forward to one thing: I want my children to grow up and carry though their lives love and respect for every nationality and every ethnic group. This is why I felt excited by the words of M.S. Gorbachev's address to the working people, to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia: "Not a single mother would agree to nationalist squabbles replacing the ties of friendship, equality, mutual aid—a truly great gain of socialism—and threatening her children." I am sure that

these warm, cordial words permeated by care for the people's fate will be received with gratitude by thousands of mothers in our republics. We can be confident in our children's future.

S. Aleskerov, composer, People's Artist of the Azerbaijani SSR:

The events in Nagorno-Karabakh, where I was born, fill me with deep agitation and anguish. In my native Shusha, which has from ancient times been known as "the conservatory of the East" and "the cradle of music," Azerbaijanis and Armenians have always breathed the same air of art and been nourished by the same intellectual food. Every one of us has imbibed with his mother's milk the science of brotherhood and good-neighborliness: It's in our blood. We do not live next door to each other, we live in each other. "From time immemorial, our peoples have received from each other fire for the hearth and daily bread"—that is how the poet Samed Burgun has spoken, with such exactness and such vividness, of our unification. M.S. Gorbachev quoted his words in the appeal he addressed to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. I share with all my heart the thought of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee that true brotherhood and the unification of the peoples is our path, and no one will succeed in turning us from it.

Internationalism is a leading theme in my work. My opera "Bagadur and Sona" celebrates the love of an Azerbaijani youth and an Armenian girl. My songs are about the heroes of labor—people of various nationalities—who live and work side by side in Azerbaijan.

Today, reflecting upon events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, and upon how all of this could have taken place, I understand that some crude mistakes were made, including mistakes in ideological work and in internationalist education. It should always be remembered that concepts of intellectual and moral culture without exception include within themselves internationalism. All of this we have to take into consideration without fail in order by our joint efforts to put right the situation that has arisen. Unity, reason, common labor for the well-being of all citizens rather than discord—that is what the people and the party expect from us.

A. Mezhlumyan, female student at the Yerevan State University:

I listened with great excitement to the address by M.S. Gorbachev to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. It is imbued with concern to save the most valuable thing we possess, the friendship of the Soviet peoples.

The labor rythm of the republic was not observed for a whole week, and studies in higher education establishments were interrupted. The events that took place in Yerevan are a lesson for young people. They have shown that the Komsomol ought to restructure its work in a radical way and not get carried away by the empty repetition of truisms and the organization of different kinds of duty functions that are of little benefit to the job at hand. I would also like our teachers in the social sciences to pay more attention to explaining the principles of the Leninist nationalities, for among the demonstrators, there were many pupils and students. I do not think that they all fully realized what was taking place.

## Azerbaijanis, Armenians Interviewed

*LD281645 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] The address on Friday by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it has drawn an ardent response from the citizens residing in those republics. We are broadcasting TASS correspondents' interviews with the working people of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Bagirov, first secretary of Amasiyskiy Rayon Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said that the recent events are causing a heartache. Armenians and Armenia, which has become my homeland, are infinitely close to me, a son of the Azerbaijan people. I was born in Yerevan and lived my whole life in this beautiful republic. I have never felt a pariah here. Having worked for many years in internationalist Vardenisskiy and Amasiyskiy Rayons, I could see every day how friendly Armenians and Azerbaijanians live and work here. More than once I have heard from elders that representatives of our peoples had always helped each other and shared their daily bread. It is precisely they who have bequeathed this friendship to us, and nobody has a right to raise his hand against it.

Here is what (Khazri), Azerbaijan People's Poet and state prize winner, said:

Man is born of a single mother, yet I was lucky enough to be able to address this infinitely dear word to Armenian peasant woman (Aykanush-Ana). In my youth I served in the Army in Armenia; I was building roads and fell seriously ill. That kind and sincere woman called me son and put me back on my feet with her care and kindness. She was my healer, doctor, and mother. Things like this remain in one's heart forever.

The party has made an exceptionally accurate assessment of the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. With all my heart I share the sentiment of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the effect that all Soviet citizens have a common history and common victories and that they have gone through great

labor, grievances, and losses. We have a common destiny, one road and goal, and one indivisible homeland. The ancient land of Karabakh is the paternal house both for Azerbaijanis and Armenians. We are brothers forever and this sums it all up.

(Mirzoyan), chairman of the council of the work collective and team leader of the Armelektromash association, expressed profound regret that the events connected with the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh had taken the work collective's council by surprise, and said that while solving economic problems we have neglected the matter of upbringing. In recent days the enterprise has been at fever pitch, and the fulfilment of production targets has been endangered, since many had abandoned their work stations to take part in spontaneous meetings. Well, now we will all have to take responsibility for such actions by individual comrades. After all, the inexorable laws of economics operate under the new conditions; one receives what one earns. In Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's appeal, the idea is very correctly stressed that it is now important to view one's own concerns not only within the context of local conditions, but also with consideration for the processes of revolutionary renewal that are now under way in the coutnry. In this regard, the working class must reaffirm its best qualities of cohesion and consciousness. It is, after all, responsible for everything in the country.

(Abdullayev), People's Artist of the USSR, emphasized that according to an Azerbaijani folk saying one is happy if one has a brother, but if the brother is also a friend then one is doubly happy. It is precisely such bonds of brotherhood and friendship that have linked the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples for centuries. These sentiments that have been handed down to us by our forefathers have in Soviet times received fresh socialist content, which comprises the essence of the internationalism and friendship between the peoples of the USSR, and it is necessary to value this traditional friendship and to strengthen it, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reminded us in his appeal. This party document, which is imbued with profound concern over the development of events, is a further reminder of the fact that one must not entrust very grave issues concerning the people's destiny to spontaneity and emotion. The friendship of our peoples has been handed down to us over the centuries and it must be preserved and multiplied.

In Nagorno-Karabakh no people are more respected than the village elders, of which there are many in the region. Two elderly friends, (Arutyunyan) from the village of Kaladaryadi and (Kuliyev) from the village of Turshsu, between them have lived almost 200 years. Each of them has dozens of grandchildren and great-grandchildren working not only in Azerbaijan but also in many other parts of the country.

All my life I have toiled arm in arm with Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and other nationalities, (Arutyunyan) said, and I may now boldly call at any house, whether it be Armenian or Azerbaijani, knowing that I will be received with delight in each of them.

My children live and work in both fraternal republics. One son is in Yerevan and the other in Shusha, and I call on them to take care of the friendship among the peoples, a thing which we hold most dear. The village of Turshsu is justly known as a nest in the mountains. (Kuliyev), 93, lives there. I was given shelter and warmth in this village, he says. When my son married a local girl, an Armenian, the local Armenian people became by relatives as well. When I meet my friend (Samson Arutyunyan) of course it does not matter from what nationality each one of us comes. He is seated at the head of the table at an Azerbaijani wedding and I sit there at an Armenian one. This friendship between us is indestructible, as is the friendship between our peoples.

Workers on the Kirov Sovkhoz in Shushskii Rayon, where the village of these elders is situated, are preparing to carry out spring fieldwork at a good tempo without pause. The milking lads (Ragub Bandaliyev), (Artavas Abramyan), (Shamir Avanesyan), (Zarish Abasova) and others are achieving high yields at the end of winter. Armenians and Azerbaijanis are working together on our internationalist farm to achieve labor successes, says (Sarkisyan), the director of the farm. Since the beginning of the year, six tonnes more milk than this time last year has been sold to the state. Our joint efforts are aimed at making Karabakh soil flourish and it grieves us when anyone tries to hinder us in this and when some enterprises are knocked out of their usual rhythm of work, for it is very difficult to make up lost ground later.

You have been listening to interviews received by TASS correspondents from citizens of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

## More on Nagorno-Karabakh Demonstrations

### Demirchyan Rumored 'Removed'

*LD261749 Hamburg DPA in German 1635 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Against the background of the continuing unrest among the Armenians in the USSR, Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev today appealed to the population of the Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan to maintain "maturity of state citizens and restraint." [passage omitted]

Other civil rights activists also confirmed that soldiers had been sent to Yerevan. No confirmation of this information could be obtained from official Soviet sources. An employee of the Armenian newspaper KOMMUNIST told a Western correspondent in reply to a question that the demonstrations had taken on an unprecedented scale. However, he denied the presence of soldiers. [passage omitted]

According to other civil rights activists in Yerevan who were able to telephone their reports through to Moscow, most factories in Armenia are on strike. Only in part of the chemical industry, in bakeries, and in hospitals were people at work. [passage omitted]

According to reports from dissident circles, the demonstrations began in Yerevan on 18 February. These reports say that deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet had earlier appealed in Moscow to the Supreme Soviet to incorporate Nagorno Karabakh into Armenia. Afterward, fearing that they would be murdered, they did not return home but flew instead to Yerevan. They had explained their situation at the airfield, whereupon the demonstrations had begun, initially on a small scale.

Some 20 eyewitnesses were unanimous today in reporting that there have been demonstrations throughout almost the whole of Armenia. The Armenians, who had just arrived directly from Armenia, told Western correspondents at Moscow's Vnukovo Airport that men, women, children, old people, and even war veterans were taking part in the demonstrations.

According to the chief editor of the unofficial newspaper GLASNOST, Sergey Grigoryants, Armenian party boss Karen Demirchyan may have been removed at a plenum of the Armenian communist party. There was, however, still no reliable confirmation of these rumors, Grigoryants said.

## Workers Condemn TASS Report

*NC262335 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1905 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] The workers organizations in the Armenian Republic continued to hold massive meetings during which the current events in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Yerevan were discussed. The meeting that has been held by the party aktiv members in the College of Chemistry and Technology of the Engineering Institute in Yerevan dealt with the current events in the mountainous region of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The conferees pointed out that such events do not only upset the Armenians there, but all Armenians. The conferees maintain that the knotty problem of the mountainous region of Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be resolved within a matter of a few days. However, measures must be taken to return the situation in Yerevan and the entire region to normal. Submitting accurate information about these events can play a principal role in this regard.

The conferees, meanwhile, condemned the TASS report on the current events in the Nagorno-Karabakh region, in which it described the constitutional demands as extremist intentions. The conferees demanded that accurate information about the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh region be published in the press and broadcast over radios and television. The conferees called [words indistinct]. Similar meetings were held at the leather and cable factories in Yerevan. The conferees called for safeguarding the Soviet people's greatest wealth and for showing awareness, maintaining order in the factories, and returning to normal life in all places.

## Nagorno-Karabakh 'Under Control'

*LD262315 Yerevan International Service in Armenian to Europe 2130 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] As you know, the rayon and oblast soviets of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast recently resolved to apply for (?inclusion) of the autonomous oblast within the borders of the Armenian SSR.

Statistics clearly tell us that the overwhelming majority of Karabakh are Armenians. They are requesting the ending of the unnatural situation wherein the same people have been rendered asunder as a result of a historical injustice and live in different republics. It was essential to evaluate the feasibility of this task with great seriousness and understand it with careful study. But they rushed into dubbing all this as activities of extremist groups. But this attempt at libel touched off meetings and demonstrations in all cities of Armenia, attended by thousands of people, in support of the request of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh. The [word indistinct] of these demonstrations is: "The people are not an extremist group." And, the mass media's gross mistake of appraising the events and inadequate glasnost led to a [words indistinct] and a sharpening of emotions.

As it has been announced, there has been a meeting of the Armenian party aktiv, which [words indistinct] measures, and which expressed the wish that the question of Nagorno-Karabakh be deliberated at the forthcoming plenum of the CPSU devoted to the nationalities question. A plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party has been held. A report will be published on it in due course.

Our correspondents have been to many of these meetings and have seen for themselves how these demonstrations are being held. They attest, with full journalistic responsibility, that they have seen not a single instance of violation of law and order or any violence. There must continue to be in Armenia a deliberate orderliness and the consciousness of the fact that the desired serious decisions cannot come easily. Already, the forces intended for the regulation of the situation have been put to work. Complex problems can only be solved [words indistinct]. We know that some quarters are attempting to present what is happening in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia as an outburst against Soviet rule, against the Leninist nationalities policy. The truth is that there is

not a single step nor a single word directed even in the least measure against the friendship of the peoples of our country, against internationalism, which has become our very flesh and blood.

Answering questions by the ARMENIAN PRESS AGENCY (ARMENPRES), Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, has noted in connection with the situation in Yerevan: I must say that in this complicated situation, the population of the city is showing restraint and allowing no disturbance of public order.

Referring to the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast, he has said: People are different. They are spreading various [word indistinct], some innocently and others out of wickedness, about happenings in Nagorno-Karabakh. There are also concrete examples of blowing reports out of proportion. The situation is being regularized there; all places of population and roads are under control. No crimes against the person and no incidents of a malicious nature or hooliganism have been recorded in recent days.

### Armenian Patriarch's Address

*LD270209 Yerevan International Service in Armenian to Europe 2130 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Vazgen I, supreme patriarch of the Armenian Church, gave an address on Armenian television last night. He said: I greet you on behalf of the Armenian Church and I convey to you the blessings of the holy Echmiadzin. I, too, am profoundly concerned about and share our people's emotion over the issue of attaching the mountainous region of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to Soviet Armenia.

I believe that this demand is natural, legal, and constitutional. Therefore, I am confident that the USSR higher authorities will arrive, with the utmost solemnity, at a just and impartial decision commensurate with the perestroyka and democracy of our days. I am receiving at present many telegrams and telephone calls from our church and cultural organizations abroad. In their calls, the organizations, on behalf of more than 2 million Armenians of the Diaspora, ask me to intercede with the USSR higher leadership for a just solution of the Armenian region of Nagorno-Karabakh in accordance with the Soviet Constitution, the decision of the Soviet of Peoples' Deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh, and the principles of democracy.

In response to such calls, I sent a comprehensive telegram today to our country's top leader, esteemed Mikhail Gorbachev, asking for his decisive intercession in favor of the aspirations of the Armenian inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Armenian people, in Armenia and abroad, have always faithfully backed the fraternal basis binding the USSR peoples and the historically rooted friendship with the Russian people. The Armenian people wholeheartedly direct their gaze to the higher authorities of our country with optimism, particularly since all of you know that our higher authorities have affirmed that a high-level meeting will be held in Moscow in the very near future to discuss the issue of the Armenian region of Nagorno-karabakh and find a [word indistinct] and lawful settlement for it on the basis of the right of self-determination for the nationalities in the Soviet Union.

Dearly beloved, I understand your current emotions and all-people's expressions. Everything has already been said in the proper quarters and I say to you, with optimism and respect toward the higher authorities in our country, to remain peaceful and orderly. Apply yourself to your daily work and (?tackle) the tasks assigned to you, maintaining your balance and common sense. [words indistinct] during such critical moments, it is essential to show an extraordinary degree of serious and far sighted behavior, to guard the imperative of the fraternal ties between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples like the apple of one's eye so that painfully unpleasant intercommunal occurrences occur neither in Armenia nor in Azerbaijan.

This, rest assured, is also the message that your Armenian brothers and sisters direct at you. If this is not done, the successful course of the just issue may be disturbed and we may be confronted with complications. The objective for us all must be not to cause justice to fail but to help it triumph.

Attention, Attention! Listen to my voice, listen to my fatherly advice. Before our fatherland and our nation, and imbued with a profound sense of responsibility, I appeal to you all as the patriarch of all Armenians in the words of the Holy Bible: Peace be upon those who are far and those who are near, and peace be upon all. Amen.

### Loginov 'Shocked'

*LD271157 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[From "The Morning Dialogue" program]

[Excerpts] The official friendly visit of the Soviet head of state to Hungary has ended. Andrey Gromyko will leave Budapest this morning. Gabor Izbeky has been covering the events for Budapest Radio. [passage omitted]

On every day of Gromyko's talks, a press conference was held in the evening in the Soviet House of Culture and Education. This is a new feature in the history of Hungarian-Soviet talks.

[Izbeky] These press conferences covered not only Gromyko's talks here, but on Friday, for example, present at the press conference were Deputy Foreign Minister Vadim Loginov, Yevgeniy Primakov, academic

director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute, Moscow, and Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the Union of Writers. Particular subjects were discussed.

For example, I asked Vadim Loginov what exactly was happening now in Yerevan, what kind of dispute this is between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis. Well, in the end, the answer to this question was not a simple matter. Loginov and also Academician Primakov started to analyze the nationality situation within the Soviet Union and the problems.

The essence of what they said is that as a matter of fact it is natural that there are arguments between various peoples. Why this situation today shocks people and they themselves—Loginov for example said that he was over 60 but had never come across these kind of nationality clashes—is because up to now these arguments or tensions have never been allowed to surface. [passage omitted]

### Further Demonstrations 27 Feb

*LD271332 Hamburg DPA in German 1246 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The disturbances among the Armenian population which have been going on for the past 2 weeks continued today. It appears that there have been casualties in the Autonomous Republic [as received] of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is mostly inhabited by Armenians. This information emerges from human rights activists in Moscow, who are still in telephone contact with Armenia. However, they did not give figures and details. According to this information, Politburo Candidate Member Vladimir Dolgikh, who was hurriedly dispatched to the crisis region, admitted on Armenian television that there have been casualties in Nagorno-Karabakh. He did not mention figures or details either.

According to information from human rights circles in Moscow there have been clashes between the Azerbaijani population and Armenians, some of them serious, in Nagorno-Karabakh, which is situated in the neighboring Soviet republic of Azerbaijan. Armenians were attacked in villages and towns. A virtual state of siege exists in the autonomous republic. Responsibility for controlling the situation rests with the Army. Soldiers from, in particular, the Central Asian republics, have been transferred there. The Armenians have been demonstrating for 14 days for the incorporation of Nagorno-Karabakh into Armenia. Over 80 percent of the population is Armenian and Christian and believes it is discriminated against by the Muslim Azerbaijanis.

The appeal made by party chief Mikhail Gorbachev to the Armenian population for order and moderation on Friday has so far been widely ignored in the Armenian capital of Yerevan, the human rights campaigners stated. Around 300,000 people again demonstrated in Yerevan on Saturday. According to this information, there was "a sea of people" in the city, the streets and squares and the city center was packed with people. Armenians were streaming into the capital from all over the region in order to give vent to their demands for an Armenian state.

The heavy presence [as received] in Yerevan has not intervened, according to this information. Nor have there been any incidents or arrests there. There was again no official confirmation of these details in Moscow on Saturday. The official news agency TASS sent only short excerpts from Gorbachev's speech on Friday. The TASS report was published in the Soviet papers on Saturday. According to this information, the Armenian party Central Committee has demanded that Moscow should establish a commission—evidently along the lines of that for the Crimean Tatars—to examine the Armenians' demands. The Crimean Tatars demonstrated in Moscow for their right to return to their homeland last summer. A Supreme Soviet commission headed by Andrey Gromyko is looking into the question. Government representatives in Armenia however, have mentioned the futility of the protests and strikes. The USSR can make no concessions because they would be regarded as a provocation.

Moscow has sent to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh four senior emissaries who are supposed to ensure a restoration of order there. They include Central Committee Secretary Georgiy Razumovskiy, who is responsible for party cadre issues and was promoted to candidate member of the Politburo last week. However "endless mistakes by the Moscow leadership" have "deeply insulted" the populace, human rights activists stated. This is the reason for the continuing demonstrations. A "national strike" has been called for by the Armenians.

It was added that Armenian republican leader Karen Demirchyan, who has been strongly criticized by Moscow in the past, in a "very threatening" speech called on Friday on the population to observe order, "otherwise things will get worse". He was shouted down. The demonstrators were joined by soldiers returning from Afghanistan, who wanted to return their medals and party membership cards unless there was a special Supreme Soviet session on Armenia.

Gorbachev's speech was regarded by the population as an attempt to delay a solution to a pressing grievance, the human rights activists said. There is a national strike under way. There is a work stoppage at most factories, and only enterprises producing day-to-day essentials are still operating. "The population is not responding to Gorbachev's appeal; the appeal has not solved the problems."

They said that soldiers from the airborne troops have taken up position in front of important public buildings and offices, such as the republic's Council of Ministers

and the party Central Committee, the television station, train stations, and the airport. "The troops are not intervening," it was said, however.

### 'At Least Two' Killed

*AU271430 Paris AFP in English 1044 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Excerpt] Moscow, Feb 27 (AFP)—At least two people were killed and between 16 and 18 injured in clashes between Armenian nationalists and Azerbaijanis at Nagorno-Karabakh, a local official said Saturday.

Both the dead were Azerbaijanis while the injured were Armenians, the official of the Armenian Communist Party daily KOMMUNIST told AFP by telephone from Yerevan, the Armenian capital.

The official only said that the bloody clashes occurred recently in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. [passage omitted]

### Demonstrations in Yerevan 'End'

*AU271509 Paris AFP in English 1507 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow, Feb 27 (AFP)—Nationalist demonstrations which have shaken Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, for the past 10 days came to an end Saturday afternoon, an Armenian official said.

The official, contacted by telephone, said that the demonstrations were called off after a rally in the Opera square addressed by two Armenian writers, who gave an account of a meeting they had with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow.

The report was confirmed by a member of the editorial staff at the Armenian Communist Party daily KOMMUNIST, who was also contacted by telephone.

### Rally Held; Demonstrations End

*LD271825 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Our correspondent in Yerevan reports that today a letter to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was adopted at a rally attended by thousands. The letter expresses profound thanks to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary for the wisdom and understanding he demonstrated in examining the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and the surrounding area. It was announced that beginning today, rallies and demonstrations are ceasing in Armenia. Beginning on Monday, all of the republic's enterprises will function normally. The workers of the works and factories intend to make up the time lost in the near future by working on their days off.

### Demonstrations Not Anti-Soviet

*NC271939 Yerevan International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Special report]

[Text] We have already reported that the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Council and the area councils in the region have made an application to annex the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to the Soviet Republic of Armenia. The application was made because the Armenians constitute the overwhelming majority of the Karabakh population. They demanded an end to the abnormal situation resulting froam the division of the same people because of an historical injustice, making the Armenian people [words indistinct] actions by extremist groups. This was the reason for the outbreak of demonstrations and popular meetings in all the cities of Armenia. Hundreds of thousands of citizens took part in these gatherings to support the demand of the people of Karabakh. The basic slogan of these activities was that the people are not a group of extremists.

Thus, the mistake made by the information media in assessing the events, the insufficient publicity, and the spreading of rumors have led to the disorder of business in Armenia and to the fanning of emotions.

We have also reported that a meeting was held in Yerevan by Armenian party comrades, during which measures to settle the situation were defined. A desire was expressed that the issue of the Karbakh region, together with other issues, be discussed in the forthcoming meeting of the CPSU Central Committee that will be devoted to the national issues.

Radio correspondents attended many gatherings and saw how the demonstrations took place. They confirm, with full journalistic responsibility and honesty, that they did not see any incident which disturbed order or [word indistinct].

Today, too, there must prevail in Armenia an enlightened orderliness and the realization that an important decision is not made easily; complex problems can only be solved quietly and with patience.

I know that some are trying to describe what is happening in Karabakh and Armenia as a type of movement against the Soviet regime and the Leninist nationalities policy, but the truth is that not one move, not one word has been directed against the friendship among the peoples of our country and the internationalism without which our life could not be imagined.

### Armenian Party Approves Message

*NC272031 Yerevan International Service in Arabic 1820 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee [CPCC] held a meeting yesterday, which was opened by Karen Demirchyan, first secretary of the Party Central Committee. The message of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which was addressed to the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, was read in the meeting by Vladimir Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and one of the secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee. The participants in the meeting of the Armenian CPCC approved what was contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's message and adopted a resolution regarding it. The meeting was also attended by Anatoliy Lukyanov, one of the secretaries of the party Central Committee.

### Gorbachev, Yakovlev Meet Dissidents

*LD272048 Hamburg DPA in German 2001 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—According to dissident circles in Moscow, Kremlin chief Mikhail Gorbachev and Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev have discussed the tense situation in the Caucasian republic with Armenians for several hours. Gorbachev is said to have promised the Armenians a "just solution" to their problem. Official confirmation of the discussions, which are said to have taken place yesterday evening, could not be obtained in Moscow today.

Dissident circles and Soviet television today gave different versions of the unrest, which has been persisting for 14 days. Dissident circles asserted that tens of thousands had also demonstrated in the Armenian capital, Yerevan, today and that the strikes are continuing in many enterprises. Soviet television reported, on the other hand, that "all enterprises are working" in Yerevan, "although it is a Saturday". However, the main news program "Vremya" showed only views from an enterprise, but none from the city.

According to official reports, there are said to have been victims in Nagorno-Karabakh following attacks by the Azerbaijanis on the Armenian population in the autonomous oblast. However, no figures or details have been made known so far. Large army units had been assembled in the region, it was reported from dissident circles.

According to dissident circles, Gorbachev spoke for an hour with the poetess Silva Kaputikyan and the writer Sori Balayan from Armenia. Yakovlev, who is responsible in the Politburo for propaganda and culture, had talked to them for 3 hours. Gorbachev is alleged to have promised the Armenians a "just solution" in the conversation. However, he had given a promise that Armenian television would also be transmitted in Nagorno-Karabakh and that the Armenian schools there would operate in conjunction with the Ministry of Education in Armenia, the reports went on. An assurance had also been given to rebuild a monastery in the town of Shusha in the region.

It has also been learned from dissident circles that Balayan called on the organizing committee for demonstrations and strikes today to stop the national protests in order to give Moscow a better chance to brief itself. The decision of the Moscow leadership is to be announced at a national rally on 26 March in Armenia. The Armenians have been demonstrating for around 2 weeks under the slogan "One People-One Nation" for the combining of Armenia with the autonomous republic [as received] of Nagorno-Karabakh which is an enclave in the neighboring Soviet republic of Azerbaijan in the Caucasus. The Azerbaijanis are mostly Muslims, the Armenians are Orthodox Christians.

### Armenian CP Plenum Resolution

*NC280805 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[From the review of 28 February SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper publishes an edited version of the resolution adopted at the 26 February plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. This says in part: The plenum resolves that the question of Nagorno-Karabakh be studied and deliberated within the context of the issues to be discussed at the CPSU plenum devoted to the problems of the nationalities. The plenum requests that a corresponding commission be created at the CPSU Central Committee in this connection.

### Dolgikh Meets With Workers

*NC280746 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[From the review of 28 February SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN]

[Text] We have been informed by an ARMENIAN PRESS AGENCY [ARMENPRES] report that in a front-page item [of SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN] it has been reported that Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has had a meeting with the workers of the nuclear power station [in Armenia] and with the residents of the power workers' settlement.

Replying to questions from workers of the atomic power station, he spoke candidly of the complicated situation that has developed in the republic and of the difficultues that have arisen in this connection.

The collective of the atomic power station confirmed that its response to the party's appeal in the statement which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev addressed to the working people of Armenia and Azerbaijan will be one of selfless work, solidarity, and purposefulness.

Dolgikh was accompanied by Karen Demirchyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party.

On the same day, Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the shoe factory and shops in Yerevan, and acquainted himself with the work of the Metro.

Dolgikh's and Lukyanov's meetings with the working people of the Armenian capital and residents of the republic were held in a frank and unrestrained atmosphere.

### Two Dead Identified

*NC281222 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1545 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] At the request of the workers of the Republic, we asked Aleksandr Filipovich Katusev, deputy procurator general of the USSR, to answer questions surrounding events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

[Begin recording] Respected comrades: Following reports on central television and in the press about my interview with a TASS correspondent, we have been receiving requests from citizens to disclose what negative occurences took place in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and other regions of the Azerbaijan SSR, what situation has been created there, and what the state of law and order is at the present time.

I would like to declare that isolated hooligan elements—one cannot describe them as anything else—resorted, obviously for the purpose of provocations, to acts that violated public order and committed crimes. As a consequence of these disorders, two inhabitants of the Ogdamskiy Rayon of the Azerbaijan SSR, 16-year-old Bakhtiar Uliyev and 23-year-old Ali Gadzhiyev, fell victim to murder. Several persons suffered bruises, beatings, and injuries that do not threaten their life and health. All these facts are being investigated and the guilty will bear legal responsibility. There are no other victims or persons who were maimed either in Nagorno-Karabakh or any other part of the Republic.

A huge and unnecessary job has to be undertaken to check rumors about facts that have been dreamed up, so to speak, from a pipe. So-called reports that can only be (?fabricated), speak of some sort of pogroms, mass executions, and murders. All of a sudden one has to check a canard put out by someone about the abduction of a group of women. If one is to believe gossip, then mosques and Christian temples are in flames, there is wailing over the graves of ancestors, and what do they not think of! I wish to responsibly declare that no such things have happened; there is not even a trace of them, nor could such (?monstrosities) have occurred.

It should be pointed out that as a result of the great work that has been carried out to explain things, the state of affairs in Azerbaijan as a whole is quiet. Some of the hotheads have started to come to their senses. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address to the workers of Azerbaijan and Armenia yesterday was of particularly great significance in normalizing the law and order situation. Nevertheless, not all citizens have as yet fully realized the serious consequences that could result from their thoughtless acts and behavior that are not always is accordance with our Soviet laws. Here and there they have thrown rocks at passing vehicles; there have been instances of damage and spoiling of state property; groups of persons have been gathering in the streets and central squares in Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as at night-time, shouting loudly, lighting campfires, and interfering with the normal pace of life. But although these can be termed as something other than mass disturbances, someone will have to answer for them.

There are definitely things that some leaders and persons who are in positions of responsibility for materials should think about. They are the ones who simply abandoned to the mercy of fate and left without supervision the state property, valuable equipment, and agricultural technology belonging to the national economy that is so indispensable for the coming spring fieldwork and that had been entrusted to them. Within the coming days, when the situation returns to normal, all this equipment will become necessary for agricultural workers. Future harvests will depend on the condition of this technology. Such leaders should not forget the fact that material damage is also liable to compensation by those persons to whom the duty of ensuring its safety has been entrusted. I suggest that they think about this.

I am deeply convinced that with the joint efforts of the workers' collectives, we will be able to bring law and order in our house within the next few days. I wish you every success. [end recording]

### Azerbaijan Aktivs Meet

*NC281251 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Feb 88*

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR party aktivs met on 24 February. During the meeting, the participants discussed the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the required measures to be immediately implemented to rectify the existing situation and to radically improve the mass political and ideological work in the Republic. Petrovich Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Kyamran Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

The decision adopted at the meeting said that the party aktivs fully approved the assessment made by the CPSU Central Committee and established concrete measures to speedily attract all political and ideological means, which influence the international training of the workers, to explain Lenin's national policy and its importance during the present time in order to normalize the situation.

The following must always be kept in mind: The national issue requires that constant and serious attention be focused on national qualities, the question of psychology, and the vital interests of the workers. The decision also recommended that the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs draw up and realize concrete measures for Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's social, economic, and cultural development in the future.

Petr Nilovich Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, participated in the work of the meeting.

### 75,000 Sign Petition

*LD281902 Hamburg DPA in German 1734 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—The 14 days of demonstrations by Armenians were sparked off by Moscow's rejecting the combining of the autonomous oblast of Nagorny Karabakh with the Caucasian Soviet republic. Sergey Grigoryants, the head of the independent information paper "GLASNOST", which is published in his own printing house, told journalists today that the Central Committee had already rejected the Armenians demand at the end of January. Grigoryants was in the Armenian capital Yerevan from Friday until Saturday afternoon; he had no information on the situation in Armenia today.

In Nagorno-Karabakh 75,000—half the Armenian population there—signed a petition to Kremlin chief Gorbachev and the Politburo member responsible for propaganda and culture, Aleksandr Yakovlev. The signatures had been collected since the end of 1986. The negative answer did not, however, come from Gorbachev or Yakovlev, but from a lower level, Grigoryants said.

According to him, the entire Armenian nation backed the demand for the inclusion of Nagorno-Karabakh, which lies in the neighboring Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan. There 80 percent of the population are Armenians. [passage omitted]

As Grigoryants said, the Soviet leadership in Moscow did not accept the resolution passed by the overwhelming majority of the party and deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh on including their oblast in Armenia. In this, the calling of meetings of the supreme soviets of Armenia and Azerbaijan had been called for. According to the Soviet constitution, the republics can decide on territorial changes. However, Moscow had the last word, Grigoriants said.

### Historian on Ethnic Friendship

*LD282010 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Statement by P. Azizbekova, academician of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Science—identified by screen caption—to unidentified correspondent; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is an interview obtained by television and TASS correspondents in Azerbaijan:

[Azizbekova] I am a historian. For 40 years I have been studying questions of our friendship, the historical friendship of the Armenian and Azerbaijan people with the Russian people. New documents that speak of our brotherhood are continuously brought to light. Difficult and sometimes even tragic events have not dissolved this brotherhood. We cannot lose the friendship and brotherhood, the internationalist unity that was forged and left to us by the 26 Baku commissars. You see, there are indeed representatives of many peoples and ethnic groups of our country there. The basic mass is composed of Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Georgians, and Russians. It is not accidental that the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh used to be called—it was an ordinary small town—Khankendy. In honor of Stepan Shaumyan it was renamed Stepanakert and become the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

### Workers To Fulfill Plan

*LD282054 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The working people of Armenia have pledged to work five working [as heard] days to make up for the time lost and fulfill the month's production program.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Nazaryan—identified from screen caption] The events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh that have stirred up Yerevan in recent days did not by-pass the collective of the Armelektroapparat [Armenian Electrical Apparatus] production association. Most of the work force from this enterprise was among the demonstrators in the past few days. But yesterday and today all of them have been at their work stations. Responding to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address, people are displaying maturity as citizens, self-possession, and discipline.

[E.G. Abramyan, electronics assembly worker—identified by screen caption] We realize that now, more than ever before, what is required is civic maturity, discipline,

and conscientiousness to emerge from this situation with honor. Yesterday we came to work, despite the fact that it was a Saturday. Today every single one of us has come to work, even though it is a Sunday. If necessary we will come to work next Saturday and Sunday. [end recording]

[Announcer] The events connected with the Nagorno-Karabakh problem caught the workforce council [sovet trudovogo kollektiva] of the Armelektromash [Armenian Electrical Machinery] association off its guard, said its chairman, team leader (Mirzoyan). It transpired that, in tackling economic problems we overlooked the matter of education. In recent days the enterprise has been operating feverishly, and it seems the fulfillment of the production tasks is threatened. Now, continued Comrade (Mirzoyan), all of us together will have to answer for the actions of individual comrades, for in the new conditions the implacable law of economics functions: you get what you earn. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address correctly emphasizes the nation that now it is important to view one's concerns not merely in the context of local conditions, but bearing in mind the processes of revolutionary renovation that are going on in the country.

Workers and specialists at the associations Armelektromash, Armkhimmash [Armenian Chemical Machinery], the chief enterprise of the Zakavkazkabel association [Trans-Caucasian Cable], the Diamond works, and other enterprises have today been working all-out on their plan, fulfilling their obligations to supply their produce to fraternal republics. [video shows correspondent; white-coated workers in factory setting]

### Workers Report to Factories

*LD282111 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] A sense of responsibility for the work entrusted to them and an awareness of the links with the processes of revolutionary renewal taking place in the country—this is how the mood of thousands of Armenian workers can be expressed. Today, on their day off, they came to the enterprises and took up their posts at the machine tools and machines, sets, and control panels. This they did voluntarily, as a matter of their honor as workers, aware that it is only by persistent labor that what has been allowed to lag behind can be caught up with and stability restored.

As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address to the Azerbaijani and Armenian people notes, the main thing now is to concentrate on overcoming the situation that has come about and solve the concrete economic, social, and other problems that have piled up in both republics. Engineers and workers, heads of enterprises, and white-collar workers, whose Sunday became a working day, brought this idea up particularly frequently in their conversations with TASS correspondents.

Workers and specialists of the Armelektroapparat, Armelektromash, Armkhimmash, the main enterprise of the Zakavkazkabel, the Almaz Works, the Experimental Tobacco Factory, and of other enterprises did work today on account of the plan, fulfilling their obligations to supply output to the fraternal republics.

### Bagirov Statement on Disturbances

*NC290713 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0515 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Statement by Kamran Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear Comrades: Our republic has been through troubled [heyedzhanli] days. Certain irresponsible people have attempted to circulate rumors about events in Nagorno-Karabakh and to cause disturbances. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, has issued an appeal to the working people and the Azerbaijan and Armenian people to [words indistinct] to be composed and to preserve public order.

The main task today is to (?activate) solid masses of our people and to mobilize all the will, common sense, and awareness of the working people, the workers, [word indistinct], the old and the young, to achieve a return to normalcy, to obtain discipline in life and at work, and to strengthen the friendly (?relations) of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples by every possible means.

The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the government of the republic have, at the proposal of the Central Committee of the CPSU, taken a series of measures to stabilize the situation in the republic to ensure the multifaceted social development of all its people. Top priority must be given to ensuring that life continues normally in all cities and rayons of the republic.

Despite this, serious disturbances have been allowed to occur in Sumgait [industrialized city in Azerbaijan] under the influence of the appeal of hooligan elements and complying with their ill-founded appeals. Cases of pillaging and robbery have been noted. [Words indistinct] the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the republic's government and local organs are taking the necessary measures for the protection of the citizens and the serious punishment of the guilty. The criminals will not go unpunished. It is regrettable that some irresponsible persons have—to put it bluntly—been among the first to be influenced (?hostility) between nationalities. The principled position of the CPSU Central Committee is well-known. The resolution on this question has been brought to the attention of the working people of the republic and was addressed at length and in depth in the appeal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

We must become clearly aware and deeply conscious that such a dangerous turn of events can bring about very grave consequences that may prove very hard to rectify. I address myself to the Azerbaijani people, to the whole populace of the republic, to display political vigilance and not to allow anyone to violate public and [words indistinct].

I address myself to Communists, the Komsomol, the workers and (?peasants) of the republic, the [words indistinct], students, and youths: Let us not permit any acts allowing the division [words indistinct] or any acts that may sully the name of our multinational Azerbaijan.

I call to reason all those who have fallen victim to the deception of those with evil intentions against the most priceless unity, solidarity, and fraternal friendship of the peoples. I call upon you to take up positions against all those who would disrupt the rhythm of our lives and interfere with the basic task of perestroyka.

Our duty is to remain loyal to the traditions of internationalism bequeathed to us by previous generations. Our duty is to remember the feelings of our people and our lofty responsibility before our party, our country, and all brother peoples. Let us preserve through these (?difficult) days our priceless treasure: the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

**Bagirov Broadcast in Russian**
*NC290944 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
*0521 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Statement by Kamran Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party; date not given—live or recorded in Russian]

[Text] Dear Comrades: Our republic is going through troubled times. Certain irresponsible elements are sowing (?foolish) rumors in connection with events in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous oblast and attempting to provoke disturbances. In his appeal Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, called on the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia to now display high civic maturity and restraint and to observe public order.

The important task today is to raise all the strength of our people, to mobilize all the will, common sense, and wisdom of the working people, the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, and youths, for the preservation of labor and the (?creative) pace of life and to observe in all aspects the traditions of friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples.

The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the government of the republic have, at the behest of the CPSU Central Committee, begun to adopt urgent measures to stabilize the situation in the Republic and to ensure harmonious creation of economic development in all its regions. Top priority must be given to returning life in all towns and rayons of the republic to normalcy.

Meanwhile, under the influence of thoughtless statements and instigatory activities by hooligan elements, serious pillaging, disturbances, and acts of robbery have occurred in the town of Sumgait. In this connection, the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the government of the republic, as well as local organs, are adopting all necessary measures to protect citizens and to apprehend and severely punish the guilty. The criminals will not escape punishment.

It is a pity that some mature [zrelyye] persons have—and I will put it plainly—gone to [words indistinct] who instigate (?hostility) between nationalities. The principled position of the CPSU Central Committee is well-known. The resolution on this question has been brought to the attention of all the working people of the republic. [Words indistinct] to implement the (?precise and clear) appeal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

We must become clearly aware and deeply conscious that such a dangerous turn of events can bring about the most serious consequences that may be difficult to rectify.

I address myself to the Azerbaijani people, to all the populace of the republic, to display political vigilance, not to allow anyone to violate public order, and to resolutely suppress manifestations of (?illegal) activities.

I address myself to the Communists, the Komsomol, the glorious working class of the republic, to its peasants, employees, students, and youths: Let us not allow the division of healthy strata or any acts that could cast into [words indistinct] our multinational Azerbaijan.

I call to reason all those who, having fallen victim to deception, are attempting to (?undermine) the most priceless unity, solidarity, and fraternal friendship of the peoples. I call for a decisive rebuff to all instigators, (?to all) attempts to disrupt the pace of our life and interfere with the main task of perestroyka.

It is our duty to stand at the height of the internationalist traditions bequeathed to us by previous generations. It is our duty to remember the feelings of our people, our great responsibility before the party, the country, and all the brother peoples. Let us preserve through this ordeal too our pricless treasure: the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

## 'Period of Grace' Sought

*LD291050 Hamburg DPA in German 0932 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Armenians in the south of the USSR today suspended their demonstrations, strikes and rallies after about 2 weeks, in order to give the leadership in Moscow time to make a decision on their demands. Kremlin chief Mikhail Gorbachev asked for this period of grace in a talk with Armenians last Friday. According to civil rights activists in Moscow, the ultimatum for the leadership in Moscow runs out on 26 March. A national assembly has been summoned for the Armenian capital of Yerevan for that day.

If Moscow does not fulfill the Armenians' demand for incorporation of the autonomous oblast of Nagorno-Karabakh into the Caucasian Soviet Republic of Armenia, "the national strike, with demonstrations" will resume "at once", it was reported. "The whole of Armenia will down tools at 1400 on 26 March." Moscow's reply is expected by that time. There is talk of a "temporary peace" to give Moscow the opportunity to respond.

According to the civil rights activists, work resumed in all enterprises in Yerevan this morning. Approximately 100,000 people were again out on the streets in the Armenian capital on Sunday. However, the strikes and unrest [unrumen] in Nagorno-Karabakh were continuing, it was reported, but details and the number of victims [opfer] were not known.

The decision to suspend the demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of people in Yerevan was made yesterday afternoon at a meeting of the central organizing committee and representatives of local committees at the writers' association premises there, it was reported. There was "considerable resistance" from radical Armenians against the decision, but it had been accepted by a majority and is "binding."

## Local Citizens Interviewed

*PM291051 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS Report: "On Events in Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] We are all Soviet citizens. We have common victories, sorrows, and losses. We are engaged in the great business of restructuring, on whose success the destiny of socialism, the motherland, and each one of us will depend. This idea from M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it has met with a great response among the working people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's. We publish interviews obtained by TASS correspondents in these republics.

I. Bagirov, first secretary of the Amasiyskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom and deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Working for many years in the international Vardenisskiy and Amasiyskiy Rayons, I was convinced every day how harmoniously Armenians and Azerbaijanis work and live. From old men I frequently heard it said that representatives of our peoples have at all times helped each other and shared their daily bread. It was they who bequeathed this friendship to us, and no one has the right to raise a hand against it. M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan urges us to sacredly preserve the traditions of this friendship and consolidate them by every means.

N. Khazri, Azerbaijan people's poet and state prize winner:

"For the sake of our immense past suffering, for the sake of the victorious life we imagined, for the sake of a harmonious alliance and creation..." These words about the brotherhood of the Azerbaijanis and Armenians which, with profound respect for their history and the commonality of their destiny, were cited in M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, belong to Yegish Charents. The name of this glorious son of the Armenian people, inspired singer of the revolution, and ardent internationalist are particularly dear to me. I am proud to be a winner of the Ye. Charents international prize awarded by the Armenian Writers Union for services to Armenian literature and the Armenian people. I was presented with this award for my translation of the works of Sayat-Nova, Ovanes Tumanyan, Avetik Isaakyan, and other fine wordsmiths whose creation is a model not only of exalted poetry but also of internationalism.

These and other translations of mine made up an anthology of Armenian poetry which will soon be published in Baku, and this book is as dear to me as the anthology of my own poems published in Armenian in Yerevan.

The party has given an exceptionally correct evaluation of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it. I wholeheartedly share the idea of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary that all Soviet people have a common history and common victories and have great labor, sorrows, and losses behind them. We have a single destiny, one road and one goal, and one indivisible motherland.

A. Mirzoyan, labor collective council chairman and team leader at the "Armelektromash" association.

My comrades showed a high degree of trust in me by electing me chairman of the association's labor collective council. So far I have been unable to completely justify people's trust. What actually happened was that events connected with the Nagorno-Karabakh problem took the labor collective council unawares. It turned out that we

had let slip the educational question for the sake of resolving economic problems. In recent days the enterprise has been in turmoil and the fulfillment of production targets has been jeopardized because many people have left their work places to take part in the uncontrolled [stikhiynyye] meetings.

Well, we will now be answerable all together for these actions by individual comrades, for after all, under the new conditions the inexorable economic law operates: What you have earned is what you will have received.

M. Abullayev, people's artist of the USSR:

Happy is he who has a brother. But if the brother is a friend as well, then his happiness is twofold, the Azerbaijan folk saying goes. It is just such ties of fraternity and friendship which have linked the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples for centuries. These feelings, bequeathed to us by our ancestors, have in Soviet times acquired a new socialist content which comprises the essence of the internationalism and friendship of the peoples of the USSR. We must treasure this traditional friendship and consolidate it, as M.S. Gorbachev reminded us in his appeal. This party document, pervaded by deep concern for the development of events, is one more reminder that we cannot consign the very grave questions of the people's destiny to the rule of the elements and the emotions.

In Nagorno-Karabakh no people are held in greater esteem than the village elders, of whom there are many in the region. Two long lived friends, S. Arutyunyan from Kaladaryadi village, and B. Kuliyev from Turshsu village, have between them lived for nearly 200 years. Each has dozens of grandchildren and great-grandchildren working not only in Azerbaijan but also in many other parts of the country.

"All my life I have worked alongside Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and representatives of other nationalities," S. Arutyunyan says. "And I can now boldly enter any home—Armenian or Azerbaijani. I know that I will be welcomed joyfully in each. My children are living and working in both fraternal republics."

**Work in Armenia Normal**
*LD291149 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Our correspondent reports that all enterprises and establishments in Armenia are working at their usual labor rhythm today. Many production collectives worked on Sunday to make up for lost time. Moreover, workers at a number of major associations and enterprises worked two shifts yesterday.

**Journalist, U.S. Scholar Discuss Bukharin**
*PM261527 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 21 Feb 88 p 13*

["Dialogue" article on discussion between journalist Len Karpinskiy and U.S. scholar Stephen F. Cohen: "Return of Nikolay Bukharin"]

[Text] No matter how many efforts have been made to anathematize and reduce to oblivion Nikolay Bukharin's name, it has always been remembered with deep interest throughout the world. Today, after the recent resolution of the plenary meeting of the USSR Supreme Court, Bukharin has been reinstated in civil rights and cleared of the charges brought against him in the 1938 trial of the "anti-Soviet rightist-Trotskiyite bloc." Mikhail Gorbachev made a start in his speech devoted to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, bringing Bukharin's name into history. Journalist Len Karpinskiy, and Stephen F. Cohen, a U.S. scholar and author of the book "Nikolay Bukharin," look into the subject.

L.K.: When you embarked on your study of Soviet society and its history, why did you start with Bukharin and write a book precisely about him?

S.C.: I think Bukharin is an important and obligatory subject for historians, both yours and ours. He stood near to Lenin as a comrade-in-arms in the party. Naturally, the personal relations between Lenin and Bukharin are a separate subject. I think they are like those between an exacting father and a not too obedient son. Bukharin was a member of the Central Committee and of the Politbureau. He was editor of PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and the BOLSHEVIK magazine, and a leader of the Comintern; he wrote several textbooks on party history and Marxist theory and many important documents. After Lenin's death it was precisely Bukharin who became the chief theoretician and protector of NEP.

In my book I didn't declare that Bukharin was always right in everything, but I tried to prove that he was simply a figure you can't remove from history. I started this work 20 years ago. The book was published at home—the USA—nearly 15 years ago—and was translated in Spain, France, China and other countries.

L.K.: Not so long ago I read a paper by Pisigin, a young worker from Naberezhniye Chelny. He asks why we need to rehabilitate Bukharin and answers the question himself: The country is faced with the task of separating socialism from Stalinism and of making it clear to everybody that the two concepts are alien to each other. Without understanding this, we'll not create "more socialism." Nor can this be done without drawing Bukharin into it.

S.C.: When studying Bukharin's biography and going deep into the history of Bolshevism, one cannot but be amazed at the complexity of this political and theoretical trend, its many-sidedness and dynamism. Bolshevism is

seen by us precisely as a trend rather than as stagnation. In Lenin's lifetime, there were enough differences in the party and even in the party leadership, but Lenin regarded such differences as normal while Stalin regarded them as criminal. This makes a tremendous difference, of course.

L.K.: Wasn't this internal spiritual loss in the party's life a prerequisite for the huge losses in its "physical" numbers? There could have been no Stalinist repression without preliminary terror against democracy as such.

Bukharin argued against Lenin more than anyone else, and did so quite daringly. But, though engaged in polemics, they did not becoime enemies. Stalin did not argue. He swore by Lenin's name when he was surging towards unlimited power and dealing a horrible blow at Leninism. He did not argue against his opponents in the party, nor against the people—he simply destroyed them.

S.C.: That's the case with Stalin. However, we also know the not so simple characteristics given to Bukharin by Lenin. "A most valuable and major theorist of the party... his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist with great reserve." This couldn't have been a slip of the tongue on Lenin's part.

L.K.: Apparently, here, Lenin grasped the real contradiction in Bukharin's way of thinking, which is reflected in the external duality of Lenin's assessment. I think that the well-knwon saying about "shortcomings" often being "the continuation of a person's virtues" had been invented exactly for such people as Bukharin.

With his fiery temperament, Bukharin, the thinker, would raise his understanding of any problem to the level of the finished theory. The thinker is in harmony with his thought and lives in it completely. He fails to notice how his thought becomes divorced from real life. He doesn't notice the moment when he ceases to be in control of his idea and when he starts instead to be pulled along by it. That's when Lenin said: "There is something scholastic about him."

S.C.: I'm likewise sure that Bukharin was a "theoretical personality," which is of exceptional importance for understanding his image. When he got confused, then, remaining at his high theoretical level, he got confused longer and more mightily than others. But we must also say the same about the cases when he was right!

L.K.: Have you examples of such "cases"?

S.C.: His main confusion was in his theoretical substantiation of the policy of war communism. Bukharin not only substantiated this policy; he "sang an ode" to the war communism regime. What do I think about this?

The civil war demanded that all the country's resources be put under state control and that a ramified administrative apparatus be set up for their coercive withdrawal and redistribution. Bukharin saw the need for this in theoretical terms, and even tried to suggest the war communism system as a general model for socialism. The emergency conditions, with Bukharin's abstract idea applied to them, lost their emergency nature. He was convinced that he was drawing up a universal model for the birth of socialism out of chaos.

L.K.: Still, Bukharin's views are quite instructive as a sort of lesson on heritage, still being learned. I'm referring to the administrative-directive activity which hit the country's economy, and not only the economy.

S.C.: Bukharin was 32 when NEP was introduced. He welcomed Lenin's initiative enthusiastically and said that he now thought differently from the time when he "was in diapers." He had lost his illusions about war communism.

L.K.: If we're to be more precise, we should speak, I suppose, not about the loss of illusions, but about a change of views. This was very important. So what conclusions had Bukharin arrived at at the time?

S.C.: I think Bukharin's main value, from which all others stem, is respect for the democratic factor in socialist policy. For example, he clearly realized the economic non-rationality of bureaucratic overcentralism. He was of the opinion that there were strict limit as to what the state could and should be in control in general. As a reaction to the errors of war communism, when the extremes of centralization were considered as planning, Bukharin ridiculed the idea of having a total plan imposed from above which would "descend suddenly" like a bolt from the blue.

The same can be said about Bukharin's concern for "consumption by the masses" or, as he put it, as a programme-making proposal—"Our economy exists for the consumer, and not the consumer for the economy." The idea of competition among the enterprises, which could improve the quality of their output, was also Bukharin's. He wanted to prove that capitalism and market were different things, and that the market mechanism could be of first-class service to socialism.

L.K.: In spite of the idea, later fashionable, of putting an official inside every commodity, instead of value, to cry out his own price...

But I suppose Bukharin had some main idea when he was theoreticizing about NEP?

S.C.: That's true— Bukharin called Lenin's idea of a historical union between workers and peasants the "slogan of slogans" of the revolution: The approach to the peasantry became the alpha and omega of mature Bukharin's sociology. For him the middle peasant was not only "the most important layer" within the class but the symbol of the peasantry as a whole.

L.K.: Ever since we were at school, we were told that Bukharin was the "ideologist of the Kulaks" and that he was especially guilty of his slogan: "Get rich!"

S.C.: As I see it, the true meaning of Bukharin's idea was to head towards the prosperity of all layers of peasantry, including the middle and well-to-do peasants. When arguing with the leftists, Bukharin said that the goal of socialism was not in "equality of poverty", and he added: "Only idiots would say that we should always have poor peasants."

Bukharin, of course, was for cooperation and not against it, as it may seem, and he was especially for "the usual cooperation—purchasing, marketing and crediting". But he postponed the setting up of production cooperatives until a future date, when the voluntary, mechanized and self-refunding collective farms would prove their superiority in competititon with the individual farmer.

L.K.: That was when Bukharin, judging by everything, came into conflict with Stalin, after struggling against opposition from the left together with him.

S.C.: We can see this in Bukharin's works and speeches. In 1924 he called Preobrazhenskiy's super-industrialization programme a "monstrous analogue" of capitalist methods of industrialization, and in 1929 described Stalin's own concept as being tantamount to "military-feudal exploitation of the peasantry," even though Bukharin's stand could not be called the idealization of the countryside in the way the Narodniks used to idealize it.

How are we to explain Stalin's dropping NEP and going over to his own course—the "great turning point" of the late 1920's-early 1930's? True enough, what can you do when told that war is in the offing and that there is no time to industrialize the country along the NEP lines? Many economists in the West think that in this context Bukharin's concept was naive.

L.K.: To "forecast" the past is no less difficult than to foresee the future, and precisely because there are ready results of historical development. Nevertheless, a profound study of history is needed so that the versions that had been rejected for different reasons by development would not lose their instructive value in our present-day quests for optimum solutions.

S.C.: A few years later, I'll be able to learn more from your authors than they can learn today from me, if only because it is their history, and they will be able to grasp things better than I can.

The year 1988 marks Bukharin's birth centenary. There have been proposals from different countries to organize scientific conferences to celebrate this. However, I think it should not be a Western conference with the participation of Soviet scientists, but rather the other way around.

## Agricultural

### Further on Nikonov Kazakh Seminar Speech

*PM261431 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Agro-Industrial Potential Needs To Be Used Effectively"]

[Text] Republic zonal seminar-conferences held 8-13 February examined ways of stepping up the intensification of the Kazakh SSR agro-industrial complex and thereby providing the population with a steady supply of varied and high-quality goods. Participants included party obkom and raykom first secretaries, oblispolkom chairmen, and leaders of the republic Gosagroprom, oblast agro-industrial committees, and kolkhoz and sovkhoz research institutes.

V.P. Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, took part in the work of the seminar-conferences.

In Alma-Ata, Dzhambul, and Taldy-Kurgan Oblasts participants in the seminar-conference familiarized themselves with the work of the party organizations and labor collectives of Talgarskiy Rayon's P.F. Tomarovskiy Sovkhoz and Enbekshikazakhskiy Rayon's "Oktyabrskiy" Sovkhoz and visited livestock units and industrial and processing enterprises of the agro-industrial complex and trade, sociocultural, and consumer facilities. At the P.F. Tomarovskiy Sovkhoz and the "Issyk" agro-industrial combine there was discussion of the need to make more active use of the agro-industrial complex' new organizational forms to introduce the achievements of science and advanced experience on a wide scale. The importance was noted of bringing into operation as quickly as possible the production systems being created in the region and the science and production associations for the utilization of advanced practice in the production of corn, soybeans, and vegetable crops and in dairy livestock raising. It is also essential to strengthen agro-industrial combines' ties with personal plots and to develop processing and the network of combines' own stores and public catering enterprises.

The experience of Panfilovskiy Rayon's "40 Let Oktyabr" Kolkhoz, headed by twice Hero of Socialist Labor N.N. Golovatskiy, aroused great interest. The farm cultivates corn over large areas and obtains consistently high yields of this crop—an average of more than 100 quintals of marketable grain and more than 50 quintals of highly productive hybrid seed corn per hectare. Participants in the conference learned about the organization of the technological process at a corn grading plant and a sheep fattening combine, where 14 operatives tend around 30,000 animals and produce gross output of more than R150,000 per worker, and inspected a youth settlement and trade center on the "40 Let Oktyabr" Kolkhoz. At the Kirov Kolkhoz cattle raising and fattening complex attention was drawn to the experience of the

intensive labor collective, in which 6 people tend 800 calves, obtain daily weight gains of 0.9-1 kg during final fattening, and sell cattle at a surrender weight of 450-500 or more kilogram.

A thorough discussion then took place on all areas of the development of the agrarian economy of Kazakhstan's southern oblasts. Special attention was paid to the problem of boosting the yield of irrigated land to increase production of corn, soybeans, vegetables, and other crops.

In his speech at the seminar-conference V.P. Nikonov stressed that the south of Kazakhstan possesses the most favorable conditions for agricultural production. Therefore the task facing those oblasts' party committees and economic organs is to drastically step up their work and adopt the most resolute measures to improve the use of the production potential created in the countryside to ensure a real breakthrough in increasing food resources.

In the last 20 years more than R8 billion of capital investments have been channeled into land reclamation work in Kazakhstan. The assimilation of large tracts of irrigated land has made it possible to substantially increase gross harvests of rice, corn, alfalfa, and certain other crops. The favorable climatic conditions in the south of the republic make it possible to raise 2 harvests a year on irrigated land and to obtain 100 or more quintals of feed units per hectare. But in fact the results are much lower.

The miserable situation regarding yields is due in no small measure to the unsystematic use of irrigated land. Scientifically validated cotton, alfalfa, beet, feed, and vegetable crop rotations have still not been introduced there on considerable areas. The structure of the sown area needs to be improved. Serious breaches of the requirements of intensive techniques for the cultivation of traditional irrigated crops occur on many farms, resulting in poor and very patchy yields.

Unjustifiably small areas of irrigated land are allocated for corn. Yet if you take leading farms' experience of growing this crop in the southern zone, it convincingly shows corn can be used to create a sound feed base for livestock raising and a real foundation for sharply increasing production of meat, milk, and other products. Party committees and agro-industrial organs at republic and oblast levels, however, are not exerting an effective influence on the state of affairs or making demands on leaders and specialists regarding ensuring that technological discipline is observed on farms. Seed corn production, particularly the production of highly productive early hybrids, has not yet been properly established.

Irrigated land, particularly in the south of the republic, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted, must become a zone where there is guaranteed production of feed, particularly high-protein feed like alfalfa, soybeans, and rape. There are quite a few examples of large harvests of these crops being grown. For instance, on the Lenin Sovkhoz and at the experimental agricultural station in Chimkent Oblast a steady 140-150 quintals of good alfalfa hay per hectare are obtained. On the P.F. Tomarovskiy Sovkhoz you were able to learn about its experience in obtaining soybean yields of the order of 35 quintals on large areas. There is good experience on other farms as well. The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, with the participation of CPSU Central Committee staffers, generalized it more than 1 year ago. Special measures to develop the production and processing of this valuable crop were determined. Unfortunately, monitoring of their implementation by republic and oblast organizations has, to put it mildly, been inadequate.

No attention at all is being paid to such an important crop for the southern regions as rape. In Dzhambul Oblast, for example, without special efforts, some farms have achieved a yield of rape seed in excess of 30 quintals. Quite good figures for rape seed production are being obtained on a number of farms in Kokchetav Oblast. But the sown area is only a few thousand hecatares per oblast. In other regions, however, oilseed rape is hardly cultivated. So how can the problem of the shortage of high-protein feed supplements be solved?

The fact that the total yield from irrigated farming remains extremely low on many of the republic's farms should also be added to the list of questions concerning the imperfection of the structure of the sown area on irrigated land and breaches of the requirements of intensive techniques. Organic fertilizers are little used and mineral fertilizers and pesticides are not used efficiently enough.

Dwelling on the problems of increasing the efficiency with which the existing production potential is used in livestock raising, V.P. Nikonov drew conference participants' attention to the experience of leading farms, which have achieved high indicators in intensifying the sector. He reminded his audience that the Kazakh party organization and a number of party obkoms were recently seriously criticized for the state of organizational and political work in livestock raising. Since then the situation in the sector has somewhat improved. However, the overall level of development of livestock raising, its productivity, economy, and also the rate at which it increases its output remain low.

There is great diversity between the indicators of individual oblasts. Meat production in Alma-Ata Oblast, for example, increased in the last 2 years by 21 percent compared with average annual production in the 11th 5-Year Plan, whereas in Chimkent Oblast the figure was only 11 percent, and in Dzhambul Oblast just 9 percent.

Insufficient use is being made of opportunities for qualitatively improving the livestock herd to intensify livestock raising. Even many pedigree stock farms still have very low livestock productivity. Here the republic party

Central Committee, party obkoms, and agro-industrial committees were asked to help farm leaders and specialists to investigate the state of affairs in the sector and eliminate everything that hinders its accelerated development.

The main reason for the inadequate rate at which livestock output is being increased, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed, is the serious lag in the feed base. We cannot rest content with the fact that production of coarse and succulent feed on kolkhozes and sovkhozes has risen 27 percent in recent years compared with the 11th 5-Year Plan. After all, the comparison is with the very low level of previous years.

There are serious omissions in the organization of feed production as a specialized sector, and the necessary quantity of equipment, fertilizers, and other resources is not being allocated for these purposes.

V.P. Nikonov then dwelt on the situation in the meat and dairy industry and the development of the fruit and vegetable industry and the storage and processing base.

The question of improving the management of agro-industrial production in the republic has become very acute. Republic and oblast agro-industrial committees have been slow to organize the restructuring of the rayon link of the agro-industrial complex and create agrocombines and industrial associations like Tula Oblast's "Novomoskovskoye." It was noted that the work already begun contains much formalism and an ill-considered approach to assimilating new forms of labor organization and incentives at sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and scientific establishments belonging to the agro-industrial complex system. Therefore party and economic organ personnel must teach themselves and others not just the basics but the details of new-style management. All organizational and political work must be concentrated in labor collectives. That is where material assets and economically accountable income and profit are generated and where ultimately the fate of the reform is decided.

The virgin lands have rightly become the symbol of agriculture in Kazakhstan. Increasing grain production is the task of prime importance for this zone of the republic. The rational use of large tracts of land to secure a steady increase in crop and livestock output and the application of effective methods of increasing soil fertility were the focus of attention at the seminar-conference of representatives of the northern oblasts of the republic held in Tselinograd Oblast. Its participants visited the I.A. Barayev All-Union Science and Research Institute for the Grain Industry and its experimental farm, the "Zarechnyy" and "Krasnoyarsk" Sovkhozes, and the shops and design bureau of the "Tselinogradselmash" plant.

The results of the seminar-conference were summed up in the speech delivered at the all-union science and research institute by V.P. Nikonov.

Our country, he said, is at a crucial and most complex stage of restructuring when plans have to be put into practice and socialism's potential more fully revealed. The party's new approaches to leadership of the economy have really invigorated work and made it possible to make improvements in many sectors.

While noting the changes in the agro-industrial complex and social conditions in the countryside we also cannot fail to see that the rate of development of the agrarian sector does not yet fully measure up to our main task set by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, the task of decisively improving the population's food supply in 2-3 years. Here it is very important how we work this year, the 3d year of the 5-year plan.

In examining today the situation in Kazakhstan's agro-industrial complex, it is essential to start with an analysis of the way in which the tasks set for the country's agro-industrial complex in the speech made by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, here in Tselinograd in September 1985 are being carried out. Summing up the impressions of our present visit to the republic, one main conclusion can be drawn—the food supplies in cities and the countryside have somewhat improved in the last 2 years. But if the targets set in the Food Program are to be met the rate of production growth needs to be doubled as a whole.

To what should the attention of party and economic organs now be turned? The first and most vital question is to ensure the stability of labor collectives and leading cadres in agricultural and processing enterprises.

The second question is to intensify everyday practical work to increase the fertility of land as the main factor in determining the level of peasant labor productivity.

The third question is to implement full integration in the production, storage, and processing of agricultural products. This is best achieved under the kind of new forms of organization which have now appeared in our agrocombines, agrofirms, and agro-industrial enterprises.

The fourth question is to fully assimilate economic methods of economic activity and production management.

It is also necessary to radically change the agro-industrial complex' scientific backup, to switch applied science, which provides technology that is efficient and adapted to specific conditions, to an economically accountable footing, and to interest scientists in the end results of work. It is essential to universally introduce progressive forms of labor organization, particularly in production collectives, by putting them on a team, family, or lease contract basis.

In the last 2 years the target for grain production in the Kazakh SSR was underfulfilled by 11 percent, the potato target by 16 percent, the vegetable target by 22 percent, and the livestock, poultry, and milk target by 5 percent. The republic's grain production showed a decline last year compared with 1986.

Weather conditions have, of course, had an adverse effect on the results of agricultural work in a number of oblasts, particularly in 1987. That, however, is not the whole story.

The basic reasons are the low standard of farming, the neglected state of seed growing, and poor work in maintaining the natural fertility of plowland. Large crop losses occur during harvesting and storage.

If the republic is to meet the Food Program's grain production targets it must boost the yield of grain fields in the remaining years of the 5-year plan by at least 2-3 quintals over last year's level. The experience of leading farms indicates that it is quite feasible to do this. All that is required is that basic order be introduced into work with the land, particularly fallow land. For Kazakhstan fallow land provides the basis for steady grain production, particularly the production of high-quality wheat.

Yet look at what happens. The agronomy service and scientists in the republic have shown enviable persistence in demonstrating the utility of increasing fallow land. An enormous area is now occupied by fallow fields. But there has been no substantial effect on the grain crop yield in many rayons, the reason being that essential care of the fallow fields is not carried out. Extremely small quantities of organic fertilizers are used and the opportunity to sow green manure crops is not taken, which ultimately reduces the humus content and, consequently, soil fertility.

Soil cultivation in this zone of Kazakhstan is basically of the moldboardless kind. It is quite a few years now since this institute recommended and practice confirmed the effectiveness of the moldboardless method. Wherever the complete range of agrotechnical measures has been observed this system makes it possible to obtain steady yields and maintain soil fertility. But during this time the anti-erosion farming system has been used on only 22 million of the 40 million hectares of plowland.

In the North Kazakhstan, Tselinograd, and Kustanay Oblasts this system of soil cultivation is being used on 75-78 percent of the land, whereas in East Kazakhstan, Turgay, Dzhezkazgan, Karaganda, and Semipalatinsk Oblasts the figure is only 30-46 percent. The difference in the yield of grain and other crops is approximately the same. Furthermore, the soil cultivation system is being applied in a stereotyped manner whereas it ought to be applied in a differentiated way appropriate to each rayon, each farm, even each field. Putting it figuratively, the agronomist should "listen to the earth" and decide how to use it in line with specific conditions.

V.P. Nikonov analyzed in detail questions of the assimilation of intensive techniques. This year the area of grain crops cultivated by the new techniques in the republic is being increased to 5.9 million hectares, including 5.4 hectares of spring wheat. It is there that it is necessary to concentrate the equipment, fertilizers, and other material resources and the efforts and attention of crop farmers so as to achieve the maximum return.

After dwelling on questions of feed production, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said the problem of feed quality is of great importance in the republic. It is possible to considerably increase the nutritional value of livestock feed by using progressive procurement and storage techniques and organizing feed preparation skillfully, as the experience of advanced farms has shown.

It is well known, V.P. Nikonov noted, how important the role of the fruit and vegetable complex is in ensuring the population's food supply. Last year, however, the supply of this produce to state resources was less than planned. The Kazakh SSR made its "contribution" to that shortfall; it was a substantial contribution. Kustanay, Semipalatinsk, Turgay, and Uralsk Oblasts failed to meet the vegetable purchase plan. East Kazakhstan, Uralsk, Semipalatinsk, Kokchetav, and Karaganda Oblasts had a large shortfall in terms of state potato procurements. What about state discipline, what about the party monitoring of this important work?

It is no accident that in terms of fruit and vegetable consumption Kazakhstan is a long way below the all-union level. Many oblasts in the republic are forced to transport potatoes, fruit, and vegetables from other parts of the country.

To rectify the situation in potato, fruit, and vegetable growing, V.P. Nikonov pointed out, production specialization and concentration are very important, as are the tasks of broadly spreading the practice of the lease contract and the family contract and solving the problem of keeping potatoes, fruit, and vegetables in good condition from the time they are harvested to the point they reach the consumer.

Analyzing the work done by party, soviet, and economic organs in the Kazakh SSR to ensure the accelerated, steady development of livestock breeding, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted the importance of encouraging the positive trends that have emerged in this sector.

Kazakhstan's natural conditions make it possible in all regions to raise meat livestock and, by developing this sector, considerably increase meat stocks.

In this connection the results achieved by the "Ankatinskiy" and "Pravda" Sovkhozes in Uralsk Oblast, the "Balkashinskiy" pedigree stock farm in Tselinograd Oblast, the "Moskalevskiy" farm in Kustanay Oblast,

and a number of other farms are well known. They have developed their techniques for keeping animals and achieve good weight gains, and the sector is run at a profit. But their experience is not being widely introduced and in this respect the potential of production and science-and-production systems is poorly exploited.

In the new conditions of economic management and administration of the agro-industrial complex sovkhozes and kolkhozes are being slow to assimilate intensive technologies. Specialized farms established in the republic for beef and pork production are not working satisfactorily. Economic accountability, collective and lease contracts, and the shop flow line production system are only slowly being introduced in livestock raising, as a result of which all types of products apart from milk and eggs are unprofitable.

This situation is particularly intolerable, and not only in livestock raising, in view of the fact that enterprises and organizations under three oblast agro-industrial committees in the Kazakh SSR switched to full economic accountability and self-financing on 1 January 1988, and in 1989 agro-industrial enterprises in other parts of the republic will also transfer to the new economic management conditions.

The transition to full economic accountability and self-financing, the speaker emphasized, has enormous economic and social significance. The interests of thousands of people are affected. That is why the implementation of these measures must be regarded as a central aspect of party committee work in rural areas.

At the same time, as local checks have shown, there are considerable shortcomings regarding agro-industrial enterprises' transition to the new economic management methods. Sector specialists are poorly involved in economic work.

The cost-cutting economic mechanism is not being fully used. The struggle to save material resources is badly organized, considerable unproductive losses and expenditure are tolerated, and the normative-based method of planning and labor remuneration based on end production results are being poorly introduced.

Restructuring is making only slow progress in the work of party obkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations to lead the agro-industrial complex. Party committees make considerable errors in the selection and placement of leading cadres in the republic's agro-industrial complex. Unenterprising people who are indifferent to restructuring sometimes hold leading positions for a considerable length of time, while leaders are often dismissed when they were not given support in time or helped to create the conditions for fruitful, creative work. There is a high turnover among main agricultural specialists.

There must be a radical breakthrough in the organization of the entire training complex by this spring, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted in conclusion. After all, this year is particularly important with regard to ensuring fulfillment of the Food Program. We must do considerably more than we have done so far if we are to solve the tasks set by the party.

During his stay in the Kazakh SSR V.P. Nikonov visited the Novodzhambul Phosphorus Plant and the Dzhambul Superphosphate Plant. In his conversations with workers and specialists he drew attention to the need to increase the output of phosphorus fertilizers to increase grain production and noted the importance of developing enterprises' subsidiary farms. In Dzhambul and Kokchetav the CPSU Central Committee secretaru looked over new residential areas and saw the work of state and cooperative trade enterprises. At the Kazakh SSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements he had a meeting with scientists and designers during which he raised the topical question of mechanizing the republic's agro-industrial complex and underlined the need to more actively implement decisions concerning scientific backup for agro-industrial sectors.

V.P. Nikonov was accompanied by G.V. Kolbin, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, and N.A. Nazarbayev, Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers chairman.

## CPSU Resolution on Rostov Agriculture

*PM261135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 1-2*

[Unattributed report: "At CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution "on the work of the Rostov Oblast party, soviet, and economic organs in fulfilling the 27th CPSU Congress decisions on increasing the productivity and stability of arable farming."

The resolution notes that in implementing the party's demands for the acceleration of the solution of the tasks of providing food for the population, the Rostov Oblast party organizations, soviet and agricultural organs, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes have recently somewhat increased the output of the main products of arable farming. Last year the state plans for purchases of grain and sunflowers were fulfilled. The growth of output was ensured primarily through the assimilation of intensive technologies and the introduction of progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration.

At the same time the party Central Committee emphasized that the activity of the Rostov CPSU Obkom and the party, soviet, and agro-industrial organs in developing agriculture and ensuring an increase in the productivity and stability of its base sector—arable farming—does not comply with the 27th party congress decisions

on the acceleration of the development of the agro-industrial committee. For all the powerful production, cadres, and scientific potential created in the oblast, there have so far been no substantial changes in building up food resources.

Slack work in increasing land fertility has caused great diversity in yield around the farms and rayons and the uneven and unstable development of grain production throughout the oblast as a whole. The grain crop yield for 1981-1985 dropped 2 quintals [per hectare] compared with the 10th 5-Year Plan. Gross harvests of sunflowers and vegetables decreased considerably. The pace set by the Food Program is not being maintained for a single type of output.

In the prevailing situation the party obkom and many gorkoms and raykoms, the oblispolkom, and oblast agro-industrial committee lack consistency and resolve in implementing effective measures to overcome the protracted lag in the development of arable farming and due exactingness toward the leaders of soviet and economic organs, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises, and construction organizations for ensuring the maximum return from the funds invested.

The party committees are not relying sufficiently on the primary party organizations in resolving key tasks of enhancing the effectiveness of agricultural production and in intensifying it. A number of party organizations and labor collectives have failed to create an atmosphere of concern over the protracted lag in the production of agricultural output and many leaders have not restructured themselves in their work, are displaying complacency and indifference, and are uncritical toward assessing the results of their activity.

The entrenched practice of the usurping of economic organs by party committees and "pressure" methods of leading agriculture are being eliminated only slowly. Often the timetables for and volumes of agrotechnical measures are imposed arbitrarily on kolkhozes and sovkhozes and economic autonomy and the initiative of agronomists and other specialists who have not yet become skilled production technologists are developing only feebly. The program for increasing soil fertility is not being fully implemented.

Technological discipline remains low on many farms, which is causing serious damage to arable farming and the attainment of production stability. It is mainly for this reason that over one-third of the winter crops perishes every year. These violations are particularly intolerable in working fallow land and crops cultivated using intensive technology. The leaders of the oblast agro-industrial committee and of many rayon associations have tolerated this situation and are failing to make high demands on specialists and other workers for the standard of farming, the state of affairs in seed growing, and the introduction into production of zone, highly productive strains and hybrids.

The CPSU Central Committee regards as utterly intolerable the incorrect attitude which has taken shape in the oblast regarding the use of reclaimed land. Production output plans on this land are not being fulfilled and the yield of the agricultural crops raised on irrigated land is half what was planned. With substantial areas of irrigated land, the farms have failed to achieve a steady increase in the production of corn for grain, vegetables, and other produce. Feed production on irrigated land is not being developed as necessary. As a result livestock productivity is growing only slowly and milk yields are declining.

The noted shortcomings are largely explained by the fact that the party obkom, oblispolkom, and oblast agro-industrial committee are only slowly implementing restructuring in the agro-industrial complex, are being slack in increasing cadres' responsibility for introducing into practice new economic methods of economic management and progressive forms of the organization and remuneration of labor, and are sometimes satisfied with trivial little exploits in work. The broad network of scientific institutions and organizations created in the oblast is failing to exert due influence on the solution of problems in arable farming and on the introduction into production of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The party organizations are only slowly eliminating shortcomings in the selection, placement, and education of cadres. The turnover of kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors, and specialists remains high. The qualitative composition of middle echelon workers is being improved only feebly, farms' provision with machine operators has declined and the party stratum among machine operators has been reduced.

The oblast's party committees and soviet and agro-industrial organs are still resolving the countryside's social problems only feebly. Plans for commissioning housing, children's preschool institutions, clubs, and culture centers are not being fulfilled.

The CPSU Central Committee has drawn the attention of the CPSU obkom (Comrade Volodin) and the oblispolkom (Comrade Pivovarov) to the serious shortcomings in work to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress on raising the productivity and stability of arable farming as the basis for developing the oblast's entire food complex. The party obkom has been instructed to effect the resolute restructuring of the activity of party, soviet, and economic organs in ensuring effective, scientifically substantiated economic management on the land, to analyze in depth the reasons for the protracted lag, and to take vigorous steps guaranteeing the steady development of the production of grain and of vegetables, fruit, oil and other crops, the introduction of intensive feed production, and the attainment on this basis of the necessary growth of livestock raising output. Organizational work must be stepped up to fulfill the demands of the party congress and the CPSU Central

Committee June (1987) Plenum for a substantial acceleration of the accumulation of food to improve the supply of high-quality foodstuffs to the oblast population.

The CPSU Central Committee obliged the party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms and primary party organizations to increase their exactingness toward the leaders and specialists of the agro-industrial committee and associations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes for the strictest observance of technological discipline and the high quality of every field, the universal assimilation of scientifically substantiated systems of arable farming, and the implementation of measures to increase land fertility and prevent water and wind erosion. They must ensure in practice the combination of intensive technologies with modern forms of labor organization and incentives. All organizational work and economic influence measures must be directed toward the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans for the production of arable farming produce by every kolkhoz and sovkhoz to achieve as early as this year the maximum restitution of the arrears to the state formed in 1986-1987 for products like grain, vegetables, sunflowers, and others.

The party obkom and oblispolkom together with the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources must elaborate and implement measures to ensure the highly effective use of irrigated land in Rostov Oblast with a view to the priority execution of work to modernize and effect a qualitative improvement to irrigated land, to improve the technical standard of existing irrigation systems, and to achieve a comprehensive approach in water resources construction. They must ensure that the planned yield is obtained and considerably increase the effectiveness of the use of the funds invested.

The party committees must persistently improve the style and methods of leadership of the agro-industrial complex. They must resolutely halt instances of the usurping of economic organs and kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders and specialists. They must make all-around use of democratic principles in the selection and placement of cadres and develop glasnost in their work. They must put an end to the unjustified turnover of kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders, rayon agro-industrial associations, and agricultural production specialists. The necessary steps must be taken to improve the qualitative makeup of middle echelon workers.

In connection with the transition of the oblast's agro-industrial complex to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet], self-recoupment, and self financing, leading cadres' precise understanding of priority avenues for the resources invested in agriculture becomes a task of special importance. In improving investment policy they must seek the best justified proportions in the use of financial and material and technical funds in the production and socioeconomic spheres and a prompt and high return on them.

A demand has been made on party committees to increase the militancy and prestige of the primary party organizations operating in the countryside and to step up their influence on labor collectives, on the raising of people's consciousness, and on the development of cadres' initiative and responsibility for observing labor and technological discipline. They must resolutely eliminate the unsound opinion which has become established among some leaders and specialists regarding the impossibility of obtaining good, stable harvests under the oblast's conditions. Strict demands must be made on party organization secretaries, Communists who are leaders, and all workers for the real results of restructuring on their assigned sectors. Organizational and mass political work must be widely launched in the labor collectives to implement the plans and socialist pledges which have been adopted and the unconditional fulfillment of the specific tasks of the 5-year plan and the Food Program must be achieved. Special concern must be displayed to improve the qualifications of machine operators and agronomists and to improve their conditions, labor, and daily life. The effectiveness of the mass media and their influence on forming rural workers' high social activeness must be increased.

The USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Grain Products, and the RSFSR Council of Ministers have been instructed to render specific aid to the oblast in the further buildup of the volumes of production of grain and other arable produce.

### Presidium Forms RSFSR Non-Chernozem Gosagroprom

*PM261231 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Feb 88 First Edition p 2*

["RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Formation of a Union Republic Gosagroprom in the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees that a union republic Gosagroprom be formed in the RSFSR non-Chernozem zone.

V. Orlov, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman

S. Chistoplyasov, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary

Moscow, 24 February 1988.

## Scientific

### 'Cosmos-1922' Launched 26 February

*LD271258 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1229 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1922, was launched in the Soviet Union on 26 February 1988.

The satellite is carrying scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution—11 hours 49 minutes; maximum distance from the earth's surface (apogee)—39,344 km; minimum distance from the earth's surface (perigee)—612 km; orbital inclination—62.8[.]

Apart from scientific apparatus, the satellite is carrying a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus on board the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

## Further on Space Walk of 'Mir' Cosmonauts

*LD261746 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—A TASS special correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Under the program of the flight of the "Mir" manned complex, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov today went out into open space and assembled an experimental section of a solar battery.

At 12-30 Moscow time the cosmonauts opened the hatch of the airlock. Then they took the necessary equipment and instruments to the outer surface of the station and moved to the zone of assembly work to the third solar battery. The battery has been installed on the station by Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Laveykin in June last. It consists of the lower and upper units, each of which includes a telescopic truss with two sections of photolelectric transducers.

By means of a special mechanism, the cosmonauts folded the lower part of the battery's truss, removed one of its two sections and installed the new one in place. After linking connectors, the crew opened the solar battery to its full extension.

The new section of the battery is equipped with samples of photoelements in conditions of actual flight to enhance the effectiveness and durability of solar batteries with regard to the impact of open space.

Before returning to the station, the cosmonauts inspected the outer elements of the complex's design, installed a number of scientific instruments and removed samples of materials that have long been exposed to conditions of open space.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov were in open space for 4 hours 25 minutes. They have performed all the operations at a high professional level. Both cosmonauts feel well.

## Moscow TV Details Work

LD261741 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1330 GMT on 26 February carries a 15-minute special bulletin devoted to the space walk by Mir cosmonauts.

The announcer begins by saying: "Comrades, at this moment Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are engaged in assembly work in open space. We present a direct reportage from the Mission Control Center."

Correspondent Sergey Slipchenko is then shown in the Mission Control Center. As he talks the cosmonauts are shown at work on the outside of the Mir station, while Mission Control Center officials watching the video on their screens.

Slipchenko says: "Today Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov went out into open space and established their places of work. They folded up the lower section of the large solar battery which was assembled by the members of the previous expedition; the section of these antennas and the panels themselves were folded up carefully into small containers. One of these containers was unfastened and a new one put in its place. Why is this being done? It is being done so that a whole range of engineering and scientific design solutions can be tested in this new container. Thus, one can say that a whole scientific space laboratory has been put into orbit.

"This panel consists of eight small cells. Two of these cells will not provide electricity for the station. They will fulfill the function of a space laboratory. New samples of materials will be emplaced. There are special leads which will send information to earth on the work of these batteries. But, as I have already said, these batteries will not provide any addition to the power system.

"The whole remaining part of the battery, which is also made of new materials, will compensate for the absence of these two new cells, and specialists expect a 15-20 percent increase in power output compared with the one that was there before.

"One can say that we are now moving into the era of wastefree technology, and so the cell which has just been removed will not be thrown away. It will be installed on the outside of the station and will await its time in subsequent EVA's when the cosmonauts, when the designers decide, will be able to use it in their work.

"The cosmonauts are now in shadow. It is very difficult, virtually impossible, to work in shadow."

Slipchenko notes that, following recommendations from cosmonauts on earlier evas, small spotlights had been fitted to the space helmets. Afterward the cosmonauts had been asked to take the television camera to the other side of the station to Salyut-7 and to show the specialists the transport vessel on which the cosmonauts arrived at the station. "This is being done to allow specialists to see how the solar batteries had opened up, how the arms of the antennas had opened up, the sensors and the large quantity of equipment which exist on the outside of the vessel and the station. This is also being done so that specialists can check—and, as the saying goes it is better to see something once than to hear about it 100 times—how the engineering and design decisions which they made on earth really work out in open space, how the various systems have worked in space."

Slipchenko introduces Cosmonaut Aleksandr Lomeyko, who comments on the work being performed in space and how the present cosmonauts will be feeling.

Slipchenko adds: "I would like to tell viewers that all the doctors' fears about Aleksandr Laveykin's health have disappeared. His health is absolutely strong. Aleksandr Laveykin is now continuing training for future space flights."

Slipchenko reports that the television relay from space has ended; the cosmonauts are returning inside the station; they have now spent 4 hours 14 minutes in space. But the work in open space will be considered over only when the hatches have been sealed.

### Vladimirov, Laveykin Comment

*LD261754 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Romanov at the Mission Control Center:

Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov stepped out of their orbiting platform Mir (Peace) and into raw space at 12 hours 45 minutes Moscow time today.

"The aim of the spacewalk was to replace a spent block of the solar power array," Professor Vladimir Vladimirov told this correspondent.

"This was needed to sustain power supplies to the platform, which is linked up with the observatory Kvant (Quantum), at proper level as the program for research and experiements calls for increasing the solar batteries' efficiency all the time.

"We are going to switch all the on-board equipment to a high voltage and the new block was installed for this purpose. A fundamentally new design, its efficiency is 20 percent up on that of the previously mounted blocks," Professor Vladimirov said.

Commenting on his colleagues' extravehicular activity (EVA), Aleksandr Laveykin, who made a 174-day space flight last year, said:

"In my view, my colleagues did an excellent job today. They had been given more than four hours for the experiment, but they took much less time coping with the planned work in full."

Laveykin, citing his own experience, described the assembly operations Titov and Manarov had had to perform outside the space platform as very difficult work.

Mission Control's medical service reported both cosmonauts in good health.

### Research Module To Be Added to 'Mir' Station

*LD290911 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] A new research module to study the natural resources of the earth will be sent to the orbital complex Mir in the second half of this year. This was told to a Radio Moscow reporter by Vyacheslav Balebanov, one of the high-ranking officials at the space research center here in Moscow. The module will occupy one of the side docking ports of the Mir station, which has altogether six of them. This will be an open work platform carrying television equipment, instruments for studying outer space and also an X-ray telescope. The module is being built by specialists of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

### Preparations Made for Phobos Project

*LD261336 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Feb 88*

[Text] A very impressive space project is due to begin in July, Project Phobos. The contributors to it are scientists in Austria, Britain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Federal Germany, France, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and the Soviet Union, Sweden, and Switzerland. Here's our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy to tell us about it:

[Belitskiy] The project derives its name from one of the satellites of Mars. That satellite, Phobos, is the main celestial body to be explored, although the project also envisages studies of Mars itself and of the Sun and interplanetary space during the flight to Mars.

The instruments contributed by the many countries listed will be carried by two Soviet designed unmanned probes, Phobos 1 and Phobos 2, which are to be launched with an interval of a few days. It's estimated that their flight to Mars will take 200 days, after which the probes will be 180 million kilometers away from the earth.

From their orbits around Mars the probes are to take television pictures of the planet's surface. Their instruments are to gather data about the planet's atmosphere, climate, soil composition, and much else. The data are to be processed by computers aboard the probes and then transmitted to Earth. Highly sophisticated experiments are to be performed in exploring the Martian satellite Phobos, they will include laser remote sensing never before employed in planetary studies.

A laser beam from a probe a few dozen meters above Phobos will be targeted on a point on its surface. The tremendous density of the energy concentrated in the laser beam is to cause instant vaporization of the soil, and a specially designed instrument is to determine the chemical composition of the vapourized particles. This technique and others are to be used to analyze the soil in 100 different areas of the surface of Phobos, and television cameras are to help build up a detailed portrait of this intriguing celestial body.

But Phobos is also to be explored more directly. For this purpose two specially designed landers are to descend to its surface. One of them is to perform a high precision analysis of the soil at the landing site. The other, it might be dubbed a Martian kangaroo, will move in leaps of several dozen meters to explore several areas of Phobos.

Even these few details show how highly sophisticated the coming mission will be in technical terms. Work on the scientific instrumentation is also very difficult. What stage have the preparations for the mission reached? Here is Dr Vyacheslav Balebanov's answer to that question. He is the deputy director of the Space Research Institute of Moscow.

[Balebanov in Russian with superimposed English translation] The Phobos project preparations are nearing the finish line. [words indistinct] The instruments are now being tested in (?assembly). The prelaunch work at the Soviet Baykonur Cosmodrome is scheduled for March or the beginning of April at the latest.

## 'Akademik Fedorov' Reaches Antarctic Station

*LD282153 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 28 Feb 88*

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Friends for the Soviet Antarctic expedition have again met at Russkaya station after a year-long vigil. The research expeditionary vessel "Akademik Fedorov" with a new shift of specialists reached Burks Cape on Marie Byrd Land.

On the way to the station there was a surprisingly great number of icebergs. It would seem that, upon sailing along a half of the Antarctic coast, one should get accustomed to the floating ice mountains. But this was an unprecedented sight: huge icebergs, 10-15 km long and with the height of a 20-story building could be seen every other mile. The largest one, with an area of 10,000 square kilometres, which broke off from the great ice wall half a year ago, is drifting several tens of miles away.

The main hazard is posed, however, not by the icebergs themselves most of which are grounded. This accumulation of icebergs is indicative of sharp changes of depth on the approaches to the shore. The depths plotted on the map are unreliable. The "Akademik Fedorov" successfully negotiated the labyrinth and cast anchor at the shore ice eight miles from the cliff on which the station is perched. No one approached the station so closely before.

The first helicopter with the directors of the expedition and the new shift took off, heading for the station.

Weathermen expect that whether will soon clear up and then it will be possible to carry cargoes and fuel to the station where a series of experiments by Soviet and Finnish specialists is to be performed during the anchorage.

## Station Conditions Described

*LD290832 Moscow TASS in English 0809 GMT 29 Feb 88*

[Text] Marie Byrd Land (Antarctica) February 29 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov:

It is useless even trying to tear away from the rock a bit of Antarctic moss. Nature has cemented together stronger than any glue the living tissue of moss with the stone to withstand the monstrous "rasp file of wind of hurricane force with snow and ice crystals. "Kapron ropes, for example, cannot withstand it—they are cut clean as if it were with a razor," Vladimir Uzov, head of the Soviet Antarctic station Russkaya, says.

He has just completed wintering together with his 11 comrades, and is now turning over the station, named among specialists as the "Pole of Winds", to a new shift of polarmen. For half a century Denison Cape on the south polar Cote d'Adelie, where the base of the famous Australian polar researcher Douglas Mawson was stationed, had this reputation. The "hurricane reputation" of that point was shattered in the 1970s, when the Soviet Antarctic expedition decided to set up its permanent research post on Hobbs Coast to carry out observations on the vast area of the little explored Marie Byrd Land in the western Antarctica.

The expedition put up its first house on the coast rocks, but found only sledge runners a year later—the wind blew to pieces the pre-assembled house and carried away the timber panels leaving no trace of the little hut. Yet the experience proved to be useful: The station was built in a less wind-blown place, but during the first wintering season of 1980-1981 several record climatic stresses were registered there, such as a wind with velocity of 60

metres per second in a temperature of 40 degrees centigrate below zero. In the course of one of the hurricanes, 175 gusts of wind with a velocity of 200 kilometres an hour were registered in the course of sixty minutes alone, after which an instrument mast was broken and the hurricane strengthened.

"Our wintering season can be described as a comparatively calm one", said meteorologist Vladimir Zakharin, leafing the observations register. The gale blew for "only" 243 days, but on an average every third day a year it reached a hurricane force. Snowstorms were registered for 250 days, almost 86 of them—a total of nearly three months—were particularly heavy ones, when there is no visibility in the snowy whirlwind and it is allowed, according to the rules, to move about the camp of the station only in pairs and holding on to the life rail lines stretched between the houses and observation grounds.

In the course of any of the preceeding four years of the operation of the station these indicators were even higher. That is why modernized weather pick-ups were installed here and information can be collected without leaving the laboratory house. Yet Vladimir Zakharin, who has spent his second winter in the Russkaya station, considers it to be one of the most comfortable Antarctic stations. He is fond of the small collective of his friends, the roomy and comfortable new aluminium houses on the piles, where every member of the team has his separate room, a place for studies and reflections in solitude, and for parties, games and film screenings.

When a hurricane starts, the houses are shattered with the gusts of wind and stone crumbs rattle away against the metal walls like a mad machine-gun. But in the rare hours of calm the crew zealously take up angling, and all those free from duty go down to sea where they successfully angle sea sculpin, ice fish and fish of other species.

The new shift of Russkaya brought by the survey vessel Akademik Fedorov is headed by 55-year old geophysicist Oleg Struin, a polar man with a long career of work in the Arctic, who spent ten winters in almost all the Soviet Antarctic stations.

## Military

### Yazov Addresses War and Labor Veterans

*OW280955 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2230 GMT 27 Feb 88*

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program]

[Text] A meeting took place to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. War and labor veterans, Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Afghanistan gathered at the Central Palace of the Soviet Army. All of them are united by their loyal services to the fatherland in the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces. Army General Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, and USSR Defense Minister, addressed the gathering.

[Begin Yazov recording] The Soviet people and the people of the world—if they are people of goodwill—will never forget the great feat performed by the Soviet people. The Soviet people created the Armed Forces to defend the gains of the October Revolution. Not only were the Armed Forces formed, but the Soviet people also made it possible for this force to defeat the most terrible army ever put together in the 1930's and 1940's. It brought fascist Germany to its knees and it has become a force capable of ensuring peace.

The 70-year history of the Soviet Army and Navy is an integral part of the history of our socialist state. Many glorious pages have been contributed by you, dear comrade veterans. Every one of you has traveled the long road of life. You have lived through the fierce skirmishes with the enemies of the revolution, hunger and destruction; you have demonstrated selfless labor and experienced difficult military times [likholetye]; and you passed all these trials in the name of a bright future. Your passionate efforts in labor and war, your constant readiness for self sacrifice in the name of the motherland and revolution serves as a worthy example for the growing generations. [end recording]

### Yazov Attends Mothers Rally in Moscow

*PM291115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Report by V. Izgarshev: "We Bow Down to the Ground to You!"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Some 1,200 Moscow women assembled for a rally of soldiers' mothers at the invitation of the Moscow Military District political directorate and the city military commissariat. Their friends from other union republics and a number of Russian oblasts were their guests. [passage omitted]

Army General D.T. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR defense minister, took part in the rally.

### CPSU Resolution on Young Reservists

*PM251021 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In CPSU Central Committee; CPSU Central Committee Has Examined Results of All-Union Rally of Young Reserve Servicemen"]

[Text] The resolution which was adopted notes that recently there has been a marked increase in the social and political activeness of young men who have served in the USSR Armed Forces. The young men sent into the reserve are vigorously joining in the sociopolitical life of

labor and educational collectives. The young people who fulfilled their international duty in Afghanistan are showing themselves to be most active. Many party and Komsomol organizations skillfully attract former servicemen to take part in the military-patriotic, international, and physical education of young people and adolescents. Clubs and councils of internationalist servicemen are being created in a number of the country's republics and oblasts. The activity of the majority is supported by official organizations and meeting with public recognition.

At the same time, the resolution states, there are attempts by some people with ideologically harmful views and excessive personal ambitions to divert this category of young people from socially important matters, to wrest them from the Komsomol, and to set them against war and labor veterans, speculating on the difficulties of the progress of restructuring, the way young people go to extremes, and instances of formalism in providing the bonuses and benefits set by the state for internationalist servicemen.

The Komsomol Central Committee acted correctly in promptly supporting ex-servicemen in their desire to unite around specific, useful work and directing their efforts toward participation in resolving tasks of young people's military-patriotic education.

There was a committed discussion at the rally of the problems of preparing young people for service in the USSR Armed Forces, and shortcomings were noted in organizing mass defense and sport work among the population. The speeches spoke keenly of instances of disregard on the part of some organizations and officials toward servicemen who received combat wounds and lost limbs and toward the families and memory of the dead. At the same time the overwhelming majority of those taking part in the rally did not support the feelings of individual young men anxious to emphasize their exclusiveness and special position in society. The rally democratically drafted and adopted a final document aimed at the active use of veterans' knowledge and experience in educating young people and adolescents.

The CPSU Central Committee has approved the measures taken by the Komsomol Central Committee to develop young reservists' activeness in military-patriotic work among young people.

It has been recommended that the party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and other organizations give every support to this useful undertaking by young people. They must shape in young people a correct understanding of the historical path Soviet society has traveled, pride in the achievements of the world's first socialist state, and readiness to augment the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the party and people. They must link patriotic work more closely with the formation in young men and women of a sense of internationalism and class solidarity.

The party committees' attention was drawn to the improvement of the coordination of the activity of all departments and organizations called on to engage in military-patriotic and mass defense work and to seek to ensure the necessary organizational and material prerequisites are created for performing it.

The ministries and departments have been instructed to examine the proposals of the participants of the all-union rally of young reserve servicemen and to take appropriate steps to implement them and to render aid to the Komsomol Central Committee and the enterprising group of ex-servicemen in preparing the next rally on questions of the further activation of reserve servicemen's participation in the military-patriotic education of young men and boys at their places of study and residence.

The USSR Ministry of Education, the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the USSR Defense Ministry have been asked to examine the possibility of enlisting young reserve servicemen more extensively, primarily from among those who have fulfilled their international duty, for work in educational establishments as leaders of initial military training. The local organs of military administration and national and vocational and technical education must ensure their good quality selection and training.

The CPSU Central Committee has drawn the attention of the party, state, trade union, and Komsomol organs to the impermissibility of instances of a formal, callous attitude toward former internationalist servicemen who have received wounds and have lost limbs and to the families and memories of the dead men and demanded that the necessary steps be taken to provide the bonuses and benefits set for them by the state.

It has been recommended that the local Komsomol organs activate their patronage of hospitals and treatment and prevention institutions where the internationalist servicemen are recovering their health.

The mass media, the resolution notes, must give broader coverage to the experience of the work of party, Komsomol, soviet, state, and public organizations, creative unions, and military units in the military-patriotic and international education of the rising generation.

### Volkogonov on History, Soldiers' Views

*AU262059 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Feb 88 p 9*

[Interview with Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy deputy chief, by Correspondent Laszlo Szabo: "Restructuring in the Armed Forces—in Moscow, date not given)

[Text] The Soviet Army celebrates its 70th anniversary on 23 February. On the occasion, we paid a visit to Dmitriy Volkogonov, doctor of philosophical studies, in

Moscow. During a long discussion, Volkogonov expressed his opinions on how today's soldiers see disarmament, the problems of restructuring in the Army, the history of the Army, the need to introduce the new way of thinking, and the changed role of the Soviet Army. We publish below selections from this interview.

[Szabo] The Soviet Army will celebrate its 70th anniversary in a few days. How did you prepare for the event?

[Volkogonov] Our people have an old party tradition that has stood the test of time: They celebrate important events with work results. Our army follows this tradition. Such work results are particularly required nowadays, and these work results are special in the Army.

The entire country is witnessing the great process of restructuring, and this process also concerns the Army. By restructuring in the Army, I mean carrying out qualitative changes in the Army's organizational system, perfecting the administrative system within the Army, and improving the social security system of the Armed Forces. As a Main Political Directorate deputy chief, I must also include the new requirements concerning the instruction and education of our troops, requirements that we must meet. It is no secret that we also have problems. Lately, we have been particularly concerned with some problems that affect us. But I can say we have achieved the first, quite good, results. Some inspections have already revealed that there has been an improvement in the quality of combat and operative readiness, and that organization, discipline, and order have increased. High combat readiness also helps us avoid wars and preserve peace.

[Szabo] Since you are also dealing with the Soviet Armed Forces' history, you must really know how difficult these 70 years have been for the Soviet Armed Forces. Many articles appear nowadays on the need to also reevaluate many events in your past. What is being done in this respect?

[Volkogonov] It is impossible to separate the history of the Soviet Army and Navy from the history of the Soviet people. The process of restructuring also affects history, therefore, historians must also do a lot. I must add, however, that although I am a philosopher and not a historian, I know the history of our country and of our armed forces quite well. A big general outline of the party history is currently being prepared, and this will include all those things that, unfortunately, were not discussed previously. The general outline will present the whole period after Lenin from a close Marxist position; in other words, it will tell the whole truth. In this respect, a new interpretation of the history of the Armed Forces will also occur.

[Szabo] What concrete steps will be taken for this?

[Volkogonov] We are now beginning to publish a 10-volume history of the Great Patriotic War. A series of other works on the history of the Army and the Navy are also in preparation. These volumes cover various periods. The thirties, for example, seemed to have disappeared from our history.

[Szabo] In what respect?

[Volkogonov] The thirties were presented schematically, almost without people. In other words, several periods in our history ended up in a sort of "midnight street, a street without people." This is in spite of the fact that many events occurred—both glorious and tragic—that were related to people. Many military leaders died as a result of Stalin's abuses of power, a fact about which our historical works have, so far, been silent. The leadership of the Soviet Army and the Institute of Army History do their utmost to tell the whole truth about the history of the Soviet Army. We must work particularly hard in shedding light on the twenties, but even more so on the thirties and forties.

[Szabo] A Soviet documentary was screened in Hungary a few weeks ago, a documentary that openly spoke of the tremendous losses suffered by the Soviet Army due to Stalin's tyranny. I read that you lost your father under such circumstances in the thirties.

[Volkogonov] I think this personal element has little to do with the 70th anniversary of the Armed Forces but, unfortunately, we cannot throw out these pages of our history. These events happened and we will now tell the truth about them. The historical general outline prepared by a committee will deal in detail about the nature of and the reasons behind these events, and will also contain numerical data. In the festive speech he delivered on the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev already provided a detailed analysis of the illegal act committed by Stalin and of his abuse of power.

As for the military losses, they were quite considerable. In practical terms, the majority of the commanders and almost every staff commander were executed, and this led to the appointment of new and inexperienced military leaders. As is well known, this could not be without consequences in the initial phase of the patriotic war against the fascists, and this only increases the importance of the victory achieved by our people in defending their country and defeating fascism. I cannot yet come up with numbers—anyone who now tried to evaluate these dates would not be precise—because the committee has not yet concluded its work.

As for my person, unfortunately there were quite a lot of people like me. As you said, I lost my father due to illegal acts; this is true. But it is also true that the state made it possible for me to graduate from a military school and the military academy, and to become a doctor of sciences, professor, and general. Life continued, even those

illegal acts were unable to change the socialist character of our system and hinder our development. Journalists and writers in the West—and sometimes here, too—primarily emphasize the negative points. No doubt one cannot forgive Stalin for what he did. One can also not deny the great results achieved by our people.

[Szabo] In the course of the last 70 years, the Soviet Army has guaranteed a reliable defense for its citizens and its country. Military technology, however, is advancing at a great pace. How do you see the possibilities of maintaining the strategic balance of power?

[Volkogonov] The Army is forced to advance on this road for a long time, simply because our complex and multifaceted world has so far not been able to work out a reliable mechanism for halting wars by international political means. Progressive forces and the friendly socialist countries are now endeavoring to achieve this. But, as long as such international political means aimed at halting wars do not emerge, we are forced to rely on a military mechanism, on the Army, and struggle to maintain the military balance of power. We would like to do this with a lower level of armaments—and we have already taken the first steps in this direction—but, to be able to maintain the strategic balance, we must make use of the new scientific and technological achievements and, relying on the principle of "sufficient," we cannot afford to lag behind our potential enemies. Therefore, life itself—including history, logic, and dialectics—forces us to increase the technical standard of our armed forces.

[Szabo] What can a Soviet general say today about the Soviet Army, what do you regard as its main tasks?

[Volkogonov] The military doctrine adopted by the parties of the Warsaw Pact member states at their meeting in Berlin in May 1987 provides a very good answer to this question. This doctrine declares that the main task facing our armies today is to halt wars, inspite of the fact that, ever since armies have existed in history—and they have been around for several thousand years—they have always been the means of war and oppression. For the first time in the history of human civilization, the Army today has become the means of halting wars. This is a tremendous change which is dictated by the logic of development. Of course, a lower-level balance of arms does not mean that, if necessary—and together with the armies of the friendly countries—we would not be able to halt and repel any aggressor.

[Szabo] Disarmament is the endeavor of every rational civilian. How does this concept appear in a military man's thinking?

[Volkogonov] I will also give an open answer to this question. Young people, and not only young people but also veterans, can and do think that disarmament—for example, the elimination of an entire range of missiles—might have a negative effect on our defense capacity. I think we are captives of an outdated way of thinking concerning this issue. The essence of the new way of thinking is that it takes the nuclear reality into consideration. The main lesson drawn from this reality is that no political goal can be achieved by means of nuclear weapons and that the use of nuclear weapons can lead only to self-destruction. This leads us to further recognition: We must start from the principle of sufficient arms! Therefore, there is no need to maintain the military balance at a very high level of armament, because there is no end to this—the arms race has no limit. We are able and in future would also be able to come up with an answer to any new weapon developed by the enemy. This way of thinking, of course, does not gain ground easily, because military men are used to dealing with arms and were constantly told that only military power can preserve peace. It is, therefore, difficult to change the thinking process and change gear to a different readiness, for example, to safeguard peace with equally reduced and proportionally smaller arsenal at our disposal. All these lead to a series of educational problems too, because we have to make the troops accept a series of answers concerning the essence of the new way of thinking, the explanation of the new approach, and an understanding of the development prospects of the Armed Forces. We are aware, therefore, that we face many tasks in the political education of our troops.

[Szabo] For laymen it seems that, in the spirit of efforts aimed at building confidence, the two sides reveal their most cherished secrets at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations. Are there still military secrets at all?

[Volkogonov] It is true that mutual information is under way at a very high level. For some years now, we and the Americans have been telling each other the exact number of nuclear carriers, warheads, tanks, and air defense systems, and we also publish these numbers. We have already published four brochures on the issue entitled: "Who Endangers Peace", and in them we published the entire composition of the Soviet and U.S. Armed Forces. Therefore, both sides are aware of the general qualitative and qualitative composition of the Soviet and U.S. Armed Forces. Of course, the Army is a specific institution where there are still many things that are inaccessible to broad public opinion, things that continue to be hidden in safes and which spy systems deployed in space are unable to see either. I think, however, that the strengthening of confidence between the two world orders and the countries of the world, and the broadening of cultural, economic, and human relations will gradually wash away these remaining secrets, and they will all melt like ice in the sun. This, of course, depends on the speed with which the new way of thinking can take root on both sides.

[Szabo] The Soviet Union declared that it will dismantle and destroy the missiles deployed on CSSR territory before the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. agreement. What considerations led to this decision?

[Volkogonov] There is an element in politics which is more moral than scientific, namely, free will. Our supreme political leadership decided to take this step to increase confidence and to give further impetus to the pace of decisions—in this case to the pace of ratification and implementation. This proves we do not want to stop at the elimination of this class of weapons, but want to advance to the next phase—namely, we would also like to reduce strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent.

[Szabo] If the United States ratifies the agreement and the missiles are destroyed, what will happen to the units that manned these missiles?

[Volkogonov] We will discharge the regular soldiers. The officers who are close to the end of their period of service will retire. Other officers will go to other units and will undergo special courses to enable them to acquire the necessary new skills. Thus, they will be able to serve in other positions until retirement age. In any case, we will make sure no disadvantage affects any of the soldiers, because this would affect their human rights and financial security.